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A SELECTION

FROM THE

PAPERS

OF THE

EARLS OF MARCHMONT,

IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE SIR GEORGE HENRY ROSE.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF EVENTS

FROM

1685 TO 1750.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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SIR PATRICK HUME'S NARRATIVE

OF THE

EARL OF ARGYLE'S EXPEDITION.

INDORSED,

'A LETTER OF IMPORTANT PASSAGES IN ANNO 1685.'

My Dear heart[1]. Since I can have smal hope of seeing you any more, or enjoying the pleasure of conversing to you, a thing wherein as now I more than ever discerne my happiness on this earth did much consist, not knowing how long God will preserve mee from the hands of mine enemies, who hunt earnestly after my life, have set a rate upon my head, and done otherwise what they can to cut off from mee all ways of escaping their fury, I found myselfe obliged on many accounts, publick

[1] This paper was addressed to his wife, from Holland.—*Note, in Rose on Fox.*

There is a second copy of this Narrative, apparently in the handwriting of Alexander Earl of Marchmont, which is headed as follows:—

'Letter to D. Griselle Kar from her husband, Sir Patrick Hume, in anno '1685, wryten from Kilwinning where he lurked at the time, by the kind 'favour of Lady —— Montgomerie, sister to the Earl of Eglinton, and 'spouse of —— Dunbar younger of Baldoon, taken from a copy wryten 'of his own hand, which is yet amongst his papers.'

and my owne, to spend some time in giving to the nation & my friends & my family, some account of the matters I have of late had hand in, and of myselfe; that the affaire chiefly, many worthy persons therein concerned and I, may not by ignorant or false representations be prejudiced or discredited; and ther is none to whom I can address it so duely as yourselfe, or so safely; for though this mock parliament have made it by their forfaulting mee very dangerous for others, yet you may with somewhat more safety receive a letter from mee, also none will take so much care of dispersing the contents as I think you will; beside that there is none I can be more obliged to satisfy than you by it; and for these purposes I recommend it to your care and discretion.

In the moneth of September last when order was given to apprehend mee, and my house was twice searched by troopes sent for that end[1], so as I was obliged to abscond till I got a convenient way of getting off the isle, you know how it was with mee and the maner of my living: so soone as I got upon the continent, I stay'd but short in France, but spent some weeks in Dunkirk, Ostend, Bruges, and other townes in Flanders and Brabant, wher I traversed before I came to Brussells, whither soone as I heard that he resided there, I went to converse with the Duke of Monmouth; but he was gone thence to [the] Hague, which led mee, after waiting some time for

[1] See Lady Murray's Narrative.

him, in expectation of his returne, on to Antwerp and so to Holland. But finding no convenience of meeting him, after short stay at Rotterdam I went up to Utrecht with thoughts of putting off longer time there, and spending it as profitably as I might: But very soon the surprising newes of King Charles his death, with great grounds, and to mee convincing, of base and treacherous means of bringing him to it, came to my ears. Whereupon after discoursing there with some worthy, liberal spirited gentlemen of our nation, I went to Rotterdam to treat with others who were there, wher I found severall.

After free communication of thoughts, wherin wee were at perfect agreement, wee as freely communicated opinions and counsells; and attained at lenth to as perfect an agreement of resolution and determination what to doe; and being convinced that the hellish popish plot, so evidently and distinctly discovered and laid open in the parliament of England, to the conviction of all ingenous and intelligent considerers, though afterwards hudled up and obscured by the arts of the Duke of York and others, its wicked and restless instruments, and thereby put in case to work and goe on with greater ease & safety to itselfe and them, and far greater danger to all the protestant freemen, had taken its effect against the late king by an incomparable ingratitude of all the managers thereof; and was now in case and ready to receive its copstone, and finall accomplishment, in the destruction and suppression

of the Christian religion, (which is but one, and wherin the Roman has no pairt, unless Christian and Anti-Christian signify the same thing,) and its professors, and of the naturall and native rights and liberties of the free people of Britaine and Irland, and all the legall fences of societie and propertie there established, by the means of the Duke of York his attaining to, and his receiving of the imperial crowne of these kingdoms; and that if he should be able by the feircer methods of his owne fury, or the crafty contrivances of his party, so to work upon the counties and corporations of England, generally laid a sleeping & intoxicated by ease from war and taxes, & by a free course of their traffic & trade, during the later years of King Charles his reigne, by reason of pairtly that king's love of ease, & feares & apprehensiones of a civill war, & his jealousies & dislike of parliaments, finding of late their inclinationes to search in his mysteries, the designes of popery, at least in subserviencie to arbitrary power, & absolute tyranny, & pairtly his policie & cuning, wherin he exceeded all about him admitted to his service and counsels, wherby he indeed made easier, quicker & greater progress in his designes than he could possibly have done by rough & stormie methods, verifying upon his hood-winked people the saying, ' plures gulâ quam gladio ' pereunt,'—who truly have been as Samson dandled upon the knees of their Delilas 'till the loaks of their strenth have been cutt off, & almost their

eyes put out, as to gett a parliament there of his owne packing, according to the illegall methods taken to debauch & influence elections in counties, cities, & townes, having that point aboundantly certaine in Scotland, by the treacherie and perfidie of former mock parliaments, very well packed for that purpose, by methods as fraudulent & unjust & more violent, and in Ireland by such assistance as a few apostate planters, being men of intrest and in command, might give to a the numerous barbarous and bigot papist natives he might & would soone fortifie himselfe in his station with strong armies; & then, on the methods of his naturall temper, conforme to the cruell principles of his religion and its doctores, cary on his terrible work of setling and rivetting popery & tyrannie in, & eradicating christianity & liberty, the chief blessings of a society, out of these nations; at leest would make the meanes of preventing these great & imminent dangers more narow and scarce, and the practice more difficult & dangerous; and being also fully and distinctly satisfied, & cleared, of the obligation and duty lying upon us as christians, and Scottes natives, to endeavour the rescue, defence, and relief, of our religion, rights, and liberties, and the many distressed sufferers on their behalf against the Duke of York & others, usurping upon, ruining and invading of the same under pretext of justice, law, & right; and of the probability and convenience of the present opportunity, in respect of the great and

just enmity of the bodies of all the three nationes against the Duke in respect of the many mischeifes, cruell bloodshed and grievus oppressions, comitted and exercised upon them by his influence, & aversation from him, aboundantly manifested as occasion came to their hands; wee did resolve and determine, to try how far wee could reasonably undertake and porsue our clear dutty in the matter.

The first step resolved was to try the opinions of the Duke of Monmouth, & Earl of Argyle, and others beyond sea, sufferers for the same intrests, or any pairt thereof; at least such as wee conceived trusty, right affected, and able to give advice: this wee judged our duty to them and their sufferings, and necessary for clearing up & following out the affaire; for upon the whole matter we laid it for a ground, that the wicked designes against the true religion wer not confined to, nor calculated against, Britain and Ireland only, but universally, as is indisputably clear; though I will not here repeat the proofs, intending only a letter not a treatise: and that it was therfore necessary to try how far princess & states of the religion would bestir themselves to prevent the mischeifes, by aiding us either in the beginning or progress of the attempt; likewise, that the designes against rights & liberties, and for establishing tyrannical monarchy, wer levelled equally against all three kingdomes; which required the concurrence of all three in the attempt and undertaking for opposing them; not only in justice

but of necessity, in respect of the enemy's strenth by his allyes abroad, standing forces, papists, pensioners, beneficiaries, and traders at home; and that it was therefor necessary to solicite the concurrence of those concerned and cordiall of all three nationes, especially considering, that by want therof those two worthy appearances of our countrymen, the honourable asserters of our religion and liberties, at Pentland hills and Bothwell bridge, wer so soone desarted and frustrated.

Pursuant to our purpose wee invited the Duke of Monmouth, then gone for Brussells, to Rotterdam, giving in the letter some intimation of our business with him; who without delay came to us; having discoursed at large wee found him of our opinion, and according to our wishes, and as much as any persuaded, that if something were not timously done, the Duke of York would strengthen himself in armies, debauch or violent parliaments, so as in short time he should be able to oppress all good christians, and free spirits in the nationes, and setle Antichristianisme and tyranny at his pleasure.

The Erle of Argyle with Sir John Cochran and his son John and other gentlemen, (but I abstaine from naming any persons in this writing who yet are out of the enemies hands, till a time of less danger set mee at liberty) upon the news of King Charles's death came from Freezland, and other places there, and in Germany, to Amsterdam; [and] hearing of us in Rotterdam, haisted thither; but Monmouth was

parted before. The Erle was very forward without delay to take shiping for Scotland, and asked us, who of us would take our hazard and goe? for that he was resolved presently with such as would follow him to set forward and land there. It was answered, that all of us were determined and clear, both in point of our duty, and of the probabilities of the present juncture of affairs in reference to the Duke of York and the nationes; if all previous necessaries were fitted & adjusted, and needfull preparations made; and that if we should precipitate, neglecting any of those, wee might probably make mair haist then good speed; and therfore advised, that wee should in orde consider and discourse of the whole affaire above, as it wer in the preliminaries, correspondencies, preparations, concurrences, and aides, forreign and civill, the beginning stepes and progress, in so far as might be evident and distinct, with the dangers & remedies, conveniencyes & inconveniencyes, discoverable in so great and consequentiall ane undertaking; the effects and result wherof would necessarily produce either great benefit, or damage, to the christian interest and the nationes, of our concerne; and reduce our resolves into a scheme or modell, as clear as wee could, to be followed or altered as the busines in the progress should require.

The Erle said to this purpose, that he had good correspondence in Scotland and much, and by it considerable encouragement and invitation for com-

ing to Scotland, and assurance of concurrance; but desired withall that none would press him with particulares, for these he would impairt to nobody; then gave a large account of what befell him after his escape from Edinburgh Castle, and leaving of London; how he fell acquainted with some good English people very concerned in the coñon cause, and wel stocked in money (but such cannot now be named); how providence had assisted him in making preparation of armes of all sorts, both for horsemen & foot, to the value of a great sum, which wher now in readiness, likewise one frigat already bought; that he was fully satisfied of concurrance in Scotland; as for any other he thought it was not to be expected in the beginning, but would assuredly follow; that he did perfectly understand the whole harboures and coastes about Scotland, and the grounds, and fields in every countrey and place thereof, and knew how to use them in landing, marching, and encamping of an army, and in leading & drawing them to batle, to the best advantage; that he would shew to some of us the listes and accounts of his armes & ammunition, and order of provision for transport; but for other things, which related to and concerned the management & conduct of the business, they must needs be left to himselfe, and could not be imparted without danger and detriment to the affaire, or denyed to him by any, but who doubted either his abilities and fitness, or his integritie and ingenuitie; and if a scheme wer made

on such an affaire, it could only serve to divulge methodes, for it could not be a rule; the generall being often necessitated to change methods in an houre: and if any of us wer of contrary opinion, he desired none such to goe along, and would not bid them; but he would begone very soone with such as would joine him.

This discours, with some tart expressiones which he had upon the Duke of Monmouth, importing great, and as wee understood groundless, jeolousies of him, and aversion from medling with him or having him concerned in the business, put us to second thoughts; yet then wee only told him, that wee would consider further of matters, and try the Duke of Monmouth's inclinations and temper. The next occasion we had soone after of treating with the Duke, wee went over all had been before discoursed with him, and finding him firmly resolved as before, I asked him, in what character he intended to join and act? he answered as a protestant and Englishman, for the protestant religion and liberties of the nationes, against the Duke of York, usurper of the royall dignity, and his assisters, oppressors of the people in al three nationes, in their religion, consciences, rights and liberties. I urged further, if he considered himselfe as lawfull son of King Charles last deceased? he said he did; I asked if he was able to make out and prove the marriage of his mother to the King Charles, and if he intended to lay claime to the crowne? He answered, he had

been able lately to prove the marriage[1], and if some persons are not lately dead, of which he would informe himselfe, he would yet be able to prove it. As for his claiming the crowne, he intended not to doe it, unless it wer advised to be done, by those who should concerne themselves, and joine for delivery of the nationes; and that whether so or not, he would lay no clame, or use no title, but by advice, and to the advantage of the comon cause; and if, and when, wee should prevail, he should lay it downe, and give it up in the hands of the people or their representatives, for establishing their religion, and a solidd and good modell of government, such as they should think fitt to setle; and that for his pairt he should cheerfully and heartily accept of what station in the comonwealth they should bestow upon him, and think himself fully rewarded by being the instrument of so much good to the nationes. Upon this I told him, that I found many, our best friends in England, jeolous of his

[1] For the solemn declaration made by the King in Council, and enrolled in Chancery, that he was not married to Monmouth's mother, see the paper in *the Appendix* [*to Rose on Fox*].

The only instances, which have been met with of any thing like an acknowledgment that Charles the 2d was married to Mrs. Walters, are in two letters to him from the Princess of Orange from the Hague, 20th May, 1655, and from Hounslerdike, 21st June following. In the first her Highness says, 'Your wife is resolving whether shee will writ or no: therefor I am to say 'nothing to you from her.' In the other, 'Your wife desires me to present 'her humble duty to you; which is all she can say. I tell her 'tis because 'shee thinks of another husband, and dos not follow your example, of being as 'constant a wife as you are a husband: 'tis a frailty they say is given to the 'sex; therefore you will pardon her I hope.' Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 665.—*Note in Rose on Fox.*

aspiring to the royall dignitie; of which, by reason of the great abuses of itt, and the miserable consequences, so habituall as now become its second nature, they wer extremely disgusted, and so somewhat averse from medling with him; but if he would on the termes of his discourse give full assurance to such of them as wer in the Low Countreys, many at Amsterdam, whereof they might certify their freinds in England, and to us, so as wee might certifie many to whom wee had accesse, he would quickly be most acceptable to all, and in all probability be the great instrument of the nationes there deliverance; and obtain for himselfe and his family a more honourable and better established station and condition, than any king on earth. Wherupon, he tooke deep asseverationes in the presence of God, that he intended and would doe as he had spoken, and repeated what before is rehearsed, and said he would give the like assurance to the English, as he did very solemnly[1]; whereby his greatest opposers, jeolous of him as above said, (who gave mee a full account of the matter, as likewise he himselfe did afterwards at Amsterdam,) wer cordially joined to him, and entirely of a peace with him. Then wee proceeded to other points, and concluded, that unless an attempt should be made in England, at the same time as in Scotland, wee would not engage, or goe to action; next, that wee would take course, that at leest ther should be such a bal-

[1] His assuming the regal title soon after putting his foot on English ground, was not very consistent with this.—*Note in Rose on Fox.*

lance fixed in Ireland, as that no danger might come upon Scotland or England from thence: then, that wee should so deale with protestant powers abroad, as they should at leest keep off forreigne powers, popish and allyes to York, from medling in the war, and what further could be obtained of them; wher anent some of them had already given us what to hope. Wee fixed some methods upon each point; and the Duke said, that if after tryall he should not have faire invitation to goe for England, if wee thought business might be done to purpose in Scotland, he would be ready to hazard with us thither; this he said upon our telling him of Argyle's confidence, and haist to be gone; but wee told him that wee would not meddle in the business, unless upon concurrence of the premised considerationes. Shortly after the Erle came to Rotterdam, with Sir John Cochran and others, wee told him how frank and ready the Duke was, yea, even if wee thought wee should be able to doe the bussiness in Scotland without England's help, at leest in the begginning, he should be ready to goe along with us. The Erle started exceedingly at this, and expressed great dislike of the Duke goeing to Scotland, saying, that he could signifie nothing, wher he had so litle acquaintance; and that however qualified he wer for conducting of a royall well provided army, yet he knew him not very fit for making the best of a few men in partyes, which would be our first work. Wee told him, that he would not think of goeing to

Scotland, if he could goe to serve the intrest in England; but if he wer not to goe thither, wee judged wee could not faire the worse for his goeing with us, in case wee thought fitt to goe. Then said the Erle, wher are the Duke's armes, and amunition? If he be sufficiently provided of these, I am not only content he goe to Scotland, but shall be willing to serve under him, wer it as a single trooper; but if he is unprovided, how can he undertake such a bussinesse? Wee answered, that the provissiones which he had given us account of the other meeting wer considerable, and enough to begin with. He replyed, these wher nothing to the Duke of Monmouth nor to him; but bought & provided by other good persons to be employed as they pleased; and that they would by no meanes medle with the Duke. Wee put him in mind, that formerly he called the armes his armes, and amunition his amunition, and asked how he now said they belonged to others? He answered, that they wer the byers goods, who would have them used by him as they would. Then wee told him, that whatever wer the Duke's or his Lordship's opinion, wee wer firmly determined not to have any attempt made on Scotland, except it wer at the same time, or about it, made in England: and except Irland and forreigners wer prepared as above-said; and unless wee wer satisfied with the correspondences, preparations, and schem, and modell of the whole designe; and of the ways laid downe to carry

on and manage it, with the grounds and declarations to be published thereupon: because, as if this undertakeing should be well managed, its succesee might restore the nation's intrests; so, if mismanaged, its defeat would exceedingly tend to their ruine, at leest high detriment and prejudice. At this meeting the Erle was high, peremptory, and passionate, 'though I have concealld all the expressions, and parted in that temper; wee wer much stumbled, and found the first difficultie was how to prevent mistakes rising betwixt the Duke of Monmouth and the Erle, when they should meet; especially having clearly discovered from his cariage and discourses all along, that the point of leading and comand stuck very deep with the Erle. But he prevented our fears, for next day he visited the Duke alone, and conserted with him, that, unless England would concur, our undertaking should goe no further; and likewise agreed in the generall to what is said before anent Irland and forreigners. Then, having met together, wee concluded, that the Duke, with assistance of the English in these pairts, should try the English part and prepare for it; and also doe what he could anent Irland and forreigners; in which wee should concur and comunicate counsells, and that wee should try the Scots part and prepare for it: and when all wer ready, should jointly and at or about the same time set saile, and goe to it; provided that tryalls and preparations did answer expectations to satisfaction. The Erle

at this meeting pressed exceedingly a categorick answer, whether wee would goe with him or not; but had returne, that the examination of the things premised would determine both the whole affaire, and as to its being undertaken, and our going. Thus wee parted, every one to set about the pairts of the bussines as was resolved; and wee trusted, being to much observed at Rotterdam, to meet with the Erle and other Scots at Amsterdam to proceed in the trying and ordering the Scots pairt and Irish. After the Erle was gone, some that came from Amsterdam with him, who stayed at Rotterdam some days with us, vented in discourse many litle predictions, which they said wer matter of table talking to the Erle and his English freinds about him (who to say, as it seemed, caryed him at great respect, and esteemed him very highly,) all pointing at some great action to be done by him, especially some horagliphicks by an English astrologer representing many events; as King Charles the 1st his death; Oliver's rise, progress, and end; Charles the 2d's banishment, restoration, and death; Duke of York coming to the crowne; and last a litle Highland man, as the habit shewed, brandishing his sword over a field of dead bodies. None was so vaine as to apply to the Erle plainly, but it was clear enough by their way of talking and insisting on these idle trifles, both there and at Amsterdam afterwards, that they did desire the hearers might apply them: But these stories, with the Erle's de-

portment before and after, had quite another effect, and made us feare that the Erle went too far on grounds too weak; and resolved to try all to the bottom, that ther might be no trifling and fooling in matters of so high importance; which wee did as far as wee could in the following manner. The Scots that wer at Rotterdam, who wer all the persons of any experience in state matters amongst us, the Erle and Sir John Cochrane excepted, went to a close considering and discoursing of the affaire in all points, especially those before-mentioned; and having agreed in one, some of our numbers wer chosen to go to Amsterdam, to meet with the Duke of Monmouth as occasion required, to know what progress he made in his pairt of the business; and to consert with the Earl of Argyle what related to our pairt, after examination of such things relating to it as was needfull for our clearing. When they came thither, and met with the Duke and the Lord Gray, they greatly satisfied us anent the intelligences and message toward England and forreign friends; but when return came, nothing more could be done on their pairt. They enquired at some of us if wee were well fixed upon our grounds? We answered, it was our bussiness here to try and setle them; he told us Argyle promised great things, as 5 or 6000 men of his owne at leest, and was impatient to be gone, and dissatisfied with some of us for delaying; 'twas answered that there was no delay on our pairt, yet there was no determining

till it wer knowen that England would concur, Irland wer secured, forreigners at leest satisfied with our attempt, and the Scots pairt better prepared. As for the 6000 men, the Erle promised of his owne, wee would try if he wer certaine of them; wee wer exceedingly straitened betwixt the Duke and the Erle; the last asserting great things to him which wee knew wold not hold, and wer loath to contradict, and discover the weakness, lest the Duke and Lord Gray should be discouraged, at least till they might be encouraged from England. But the Duke meeting frequently with the Erle found out of himselfe what wee would gladly have covered, and began to set light by the Erle's calculationes, except in so far as wee joined with him and asserted. At first meeting with the Erle he discoursed at large and satisfyingly of the provision of armes and amunition, which to its proportion was indeed very good and orderly: nor doe I think ever so litle money, in this age and place of the world, was more advantageously laide out such a way; for I am assured 20,000*l.* sterling has been disburssd for a lesse provision than was made here within 10,000. Then it was asked where wee looked for men to lift these armes? The Erle answered, he had many more men of his owne would joine him whensoever he came among them, then would take all these armes; but they wer already very well armed, and needed them not; therfore he would bestow few of these among them, but reserve them for

such Lowland men as wanted armes. Then wee went closse to the point, & desired to know what ground there was for expecting 5 or 6000 Highlanders? What ground for expecting in the Lowlands, if these wer suppositiones? The Erle answered, he went not upon suppositiones, but upon good and solid assurances: yet such as he could not impairt, and if wee would not trust him in that, wee might, &c. doe as wee pleased. Sir John Cochran said, he was satisfied of the Erle's grounds as to the Highlands, and could freely trust him, since it was to be supposed the Erle would neither adventer to goe himselfe, or to invite us, but upon good and probable grounds: and as to the Lowlands he could say more, that he himselfe had good assurances of a strong concurrence, which made him the more freely trust what the Erle asserted of his; but that it was not to be imagined the Erle or he would divulge persons or correspondences; so that the trust and confidence in the asserters behoved to satisfie, as it might very well. It was answered, divulging of things fitt to be kept secret was not desired; but that some others of our number (some such ther wer amongst us deserved upon all considerations to have nothing kept up from them in the whole affaire,) might be acquainted with all things, and capacitate to join with the Erle in what he asserted; in which the whole company would acquiesse without more question. The Erle hearing these things some-

what impatiently, answered, he must be trusted in more than that; for his grounds of assurance, the time of his goeing off from Holland til twenty-four hours before, and the place of his landing in Scotland he would impairt to no mortall man; and he, that would not trust these to him, had best not be concerned in this bussiness. Sir John answered, he did freely trust him; he had never pressed him on these heads, nor would; nor did he think that any man ought to doe it; so wee parted, not at all satisfied; yet being very intent upon the business, and desirous to find satisfaction to our reason, I was sent to the Erle with an overture, and was desired to presse him and Sir John, in the terms I used as follows: I expostulated with the Erle upon the three points he would keep secret; told him plainly they would not pass upon his credite, and pressed that he might treate freely anent them with any two of six I named, whose assertion with his Lordship would satisfie all. He answered to the first point with a question; 'You know,' said he, 'my son is come over 'to me lately, by whom I heard from my freinds 'in the Highlands and Lowlands, and have good 'assurance of assistance from them, as also from 'those a foot of our party in Scotland, called the 'Mountaine Men; and if you wer in my caise, and 'under tyes to conceale persons names with whom 'you had dealing, would you reveale them to any?' I said, 'I would not;' 'Then,' replyed he, 'you are 'answered in that point;' for the other two he

thought them not materiall for any body to know; and if they should, or any of them, chance to be discovered, it would disappoint and prevent the whole business. I condescended with him as to the second, provided time was given to make ready; but for the third, I told him most would be very ernest that two, as I spoke of, should be acquainted with the place of landing, and declare their good likeing of it, which would satisfie all; otherwise 'twas like wee would break asunder.

It wer tedious, neither have I time for it, to repeat all the arguments and answers that passed on this matter; but, for conclusion, the Erle refused possitively, come on't what would: I went to Sir John, and discoursing him on the same points, found him wel prepared by the Erle, giving the same answres for the Erle as himself did; he declared his disatisfaction with such as pressed him on these heads, which he said ought to be trusted to him as Generall. 'Generall,' said I, 'of what? 'where is the army? and who has appointed my 'Lord for Generall? The matter is not yet come 'that lenth; we must think first if a war is deter- 'mined; then of souldiers to be gotten and armed; 'and then of a generall to lead them.' 'I pray,' said he, 'who is so capable of that comand as my Lord?' Then I; 'Supposing an army, he is certainly very 'capable of being chosen to, but not of assuming to 'himselfe the office of generall; for you know, we 'are not for arbitrary power in what hand soever.'

He answering no more, I pressed him upon the quality of his assurances from his countrey; he said, he knew that he would not be foure days there, when he should have 3000 good men at his backe; at that he might say more; but I pressing him to particulares, he plainly acknowledged that he had no private correspondence since the King's death; 'But,' said he, 'doe you think that the countrey 'where my intrest is, being one of the best affected 'in Scotland, wher I have so many good relationes 'also well affected, who albeit they should be in- 'clined to ly by at the first themselves,' (wher he named several considerable persons,) 'would cer- 'tainly encourage their people to joine, that my reck- 'oning of 4 or 3000 is wide and improbable?' I said I knew not; but thought it an uncertainty; he said, he reckoned it a certainty. When I had discoursed freinds on these things, another message was sent to the Erle, desiring that he would deale freely upon the secret points with one person named to him, his owne great freind, long acquaintance, & confident; and if he would assert his satisfaction of the groundes, all others would acquiesse. To this the Erle condescended. In the mean time the Duke of Monmouth, understanding how things wer amonst us, desired to discourse the Erle and mee together. The Erle made his part as plausible as he could, and asserted, that he was able, of his owne, to raise 15,000 men; and asked me, if it wer not so? I, unwilling to diminish the esteem of his power to

the Duke, which I conceived the persuasion of might be encourageing to him, answered, I supposed his intrest by freinds and followers had been very great, though I knew it not particularly; but this I knew, that the government had for several years made it their business to break it, and had very much weakened it. 'Well,' said he, 'think you 'not of fifteen, I can have five?' 'I know not,' said I. 'Think you not,' said he, 'I may have three?' 'I am as sure of 3000 as of 300; and with those I 'will, though no more should join, keep all York's 'forces in Scotland at work for a year.' 'But,' said he, 'what men can you raise?' I told him, it was not our fashion, in that countrey, to keep muster-rolls of our men; but he pressing me hard before the Duke, I answered, that I was persuaded, neither his followers, nor mine on account of private intrest or respecte would much signify: but affection to the common cause must doe the business of raising the countrey; and if I wer with other three, whom I named, with a small backing in that countrey, I thought we should be able to bring to our army 600 good horsemen, with as great a certainty as he could raise the 3000 spoken of on his private intrest. The Duke said, that was very considerable; and he thought, I spoke modestly, for he knew all his intrest in the south would joine me; I said, I thought I might in modesty say more, but would not, till I tryed by a messenger. Then told we the Duke, how we had conserted the aforesaid points in

difference, whereof he was very joyfull, and we parted so. Then some of us wer sent to the comon trustee, and acquainted him with the points whereof the Erle was to satisfy him, and discoursed the import of the bussines and its weight, and how great a trust he bore; he promised to lay it to heart, and try the Erle fully. After the Erle had got time, with him, we wer sent to get an account, the Erle asserting that he had fully satisfied him; he told us that he had discoursed with the Erle at large, and was fully satisfied of his grounds, so as he himself could freely join with him, and thought others might safely doe so, at which we expressed great satisfaction; yet afterwards, examining more particularely, he acknowledged the Erle had not acquainted him with particulare correspondences, nor the place intended to land at; only he said, he was convinced the Erle had great and good correspondence; and as to his landing and beginning the action, that he had notable projects in his head; but that he would not unfold particulares; yet he was persuaded, the Erle, being one of so great experience in affairs, so good pairts, so great intrest, and concerne in. this matter, would not adventure himselfe or others, but upon grounds very probable; especially when not only his own and their standing and falling did depend upon it, but also the intrest of the Christian religion, not only in Britain and Irland, but universally, and the nationes rights and liberties; since of necessity either much advantage

or prejudice must be the consequence of the undertaking and attempt. Upon further discourse wee found this person not intending to goe himselfe along; reporting these things to our company they wer no way satisfied, finding that the Erle had not dealt in that particular way of freedom, that they expected, with their trustee; and supposing him not so qualified to judge, as not being to be personally concerned, as those who wer. The Erle, finding them yet dissatisfied, pretended an advantage of them, and told the Duke therof; who, on hearing the full account, was satisfied that the failure was on the Erle's pairt, who had not used that freedome with the trustee, which the gentlemen had cause to expect. Then the Erle offered that so soon as wee wer a shipboard, so as nothing could spread out of the company, he would acquaint us all with his place of landing; and if wee wer not satisfied, should either satisfie us or be satisfied with our choice, and should likewise satisfy us of all his projects, or change by our advice; but behoved to conceale his correspondences. We wer satisfied, he should conceale the correspondents, not the correspondences, to which he agreed; the rest wee took to advisement till wee should proceed to consider other points and conclude altogether; it was moved that we should resolve to make three, or at least two, discents, and impressiones in different places of the land, the readilier to gather the country, and to force York's men either to

divide their armie, or to leev some places free to us; and for that effect to divide the persons goeing along, armes of all sortes, and amunition fitly in the three ships. This Argyle long opposed, alleadging that wee wer too few to part; but being pressed that if he should land in a strong country, (for wee knew well he intended for the Western Isles tho' he would not tell it) the army would certainly tend towards him, and then another party landing in some well affected distant place, and another in a more distant, the Duke, in the mean time, landing in England, and freinds in the north of England joining with the southermost Scotes pairty, might, very probably put York's counsells to some considerable demur, and divide his forces, and could hardly miss of affording the well affected in the countrey good conveniences for repairing to us, and good leisure to other places more remote, to rise in armes by themselves, after they should hear of any advantage on our side; which wee intend likewise to concert by messages. I shall omit the struggling and to and fro's on this point, since at last the Erle condescended, provided wee should leev the places of descent to be resolved a shipboard. One thing I must remember, which the Erle could not shift, that we might the more safely divide ourselves in landing; that he knew of 5, at lest 3000 men, at the place of his landing to joine him, and his place so advantageous, as he could give Yorke's forces work for a year;

and if they should all turn against him we would levie in free countreys, and quickly be against them behind: if they turned against us, he might persue them, and we could take strong grounds till wee might come together. Then the question was moved, in whose hands the authoritative management of the whole undertaking on the Scotes pairt should be. The Erle seemed exceedingly stumbled at this motion, and after a long pause answered, 'I 'am resolved to doe nothing without a counsell of 'war, unless upon surprise, when there is no time to 'call a counsell; in which case any generall in the 'world acts by himself.' Sir John Cochrane pleaded the same, and joined with the Erle. It was ill taking that the Erle spoke of himselfe as generall, before he was thereto nominate by the undertakers; yet it was not then challenged; but it was answered, that á counsell of war consisted of the officers, and their province was well and comonly known to be the military actiones in time of the armies' service; but there needs an authority above an army and counsell of war, to manage the whole intrest and undertaking, abstract from the counsell of war's business and the ordering the particular actiones of the armies' service; for example, to manage and order correspondences abroad and at home; to declare the war, and publish a declaration of it; to treat with enemies, if necessary; to emit proclamationes; to propose rewards; to apoint officers; and generally to act the pairt of a counsell

of state, in ordering the descents and impressions to be made; devideing the armies, amunition, and men; ordering levies, and sending them to convenient places of the countrey, or keeping them together; and many other things that might occur. The Erle said, would these few here take on them to act as representing a nation? It was answered, that if persons here wer not fited to act in that capacity, they wer unfit to undertake so high an attemp; that ther wer severall here fitt for joining in that capacity with whoever should after join to them; that such a power behoved to be lodged somewher; our absent countrymen could not have it in hand; so the present undertakers, all, or one amongst them, or some of ther number, must have it; but on one hand, so great a trust cannot come, or be advantageously exerted: therfore the gentlemen of intrest and best understanding must have it upon them, tho' they are but a few, yet so as when they land, and others such as they of intrest and understanding joine with them, these should participate also with them in the same power and authority: This the Erle opposed mightily to the great disgust of all the rest, who exceedingly disliked the unlimited power and comand he aimed att. After much debate had passed, which I cannot get time to insert here, he said in end, if any pairty, taking the chiefe power upon them, would furnish armes and amunition, and the expense of shiping and necessary provisions, he should willingly yeeld to such a

motion from them, and goe along in what station they pleased; but since all those things wer furnished by him, he would admit of no such thing, but would undertake the bussiness himselfe with such as willingly concurred. It was answered, that what was furnished was not by him, but to him, for the comon cause; and that his Lordship's interest in the provisions was only upon that account; that all undertakers in it had proportionally the same interest in them; then he was desired to consider that the bussiness he offered to undertake was the concern of the nation, and so ours as well as his, wherin wee wer to see that the great interest at lest should not be damnified and put in a worse condition insted of repairing it. Here the Erle fell mute and thoughtfull; but Sir John Cochran owned his opinion; and all along in discourses, publicke and private, upon this point, was carried away by the Erle, and made to oppose us to the displeasure of us all, who, knowing his worth and honesty, regreted this piece of weakness, and took much paines to draw him off; but there was no prevailing, though his son John, who al along tooke up matters aright, and shewed much freedom of spirit and sincerity of principles, did endeavour ernestly with him, and was necessitated to differ from him in joining with us. Afterward meeting among ourselves, the gentlemen sent some of our number, such as wer thought to have most influence upon him, to Argyle, for persuading him,

but to no purpose, though much paines was taken and time spent that way. In end, the gentlemen being to meet together, he knowing of it was the occasion of the coming of some, who it was thought would not otherwise have been with us, to know what passed; for it seems by what followes, our last words to him, that wee wer to see that the great interest did not suffer by what he should doe, did stick with him. At our meeting we discoursed freely, blaming the Erle's wilfulnesse in opposing a proposal so reasonable and necessary. Sir John Cochrane was so impatient to hear, that he rose in passion and left us; we continued our discourses; at lenth one, I cannot now name, seconded by another, asked what would be our determination? Some answered, we would take leev and part; he urged, would wee see others venter lives for the religion and liberties of our country, and ourselves ly by? I answered, that *(we)* would consider if the designes of any to act in that bussiness wer rational and probable, or otherwise; if they were likely to produce good effects or bad; if the former, I supposed we wold not ly by, but venter as far as any; if the latter, I supposed we would act the pairt of rationall concerned persons. He pressed further, what if the last cais, we would doe, or what we could doe? To this, others hesitating, I answered againe, that I thought it wer our duty to prevent the hurt of our nation, and the honest sufferers in it; and to break any design ill laid, or not

founded on solid grounds; and that it was in our power to frustrate and stop, and serve our nation in preventing its harm that way. Some blamed my freedome when wee parted, but wer afterwards convinced that it had a good effect; for the Erle hearing from those sent by him a full account, when some of us went to take leev of him to be gone, pressed them to stay, saying it was very sad wee should not part as good freinds, but rather resolving to goe crosse to one another, which would undoubtedly break and ruine all; they answering that ther was no help for it, he intreated them stay, and he would meet us in the evening, and give us all satisfaction. They condescended, came to us, and made the appointment. In the evening, when wee wer together, the Erle, with Sir John, came in; he discoursed that he was most willing all matters should be managed with comon consent, and never designed any other; but he had thought wee wer too few to take on us a high character; but was now over that, and desired only, that points reserved to be consulted a shipboard might be left till then, as wee had resolved before; and so desired us to proceed. And in short wee there tooke upon us the character and power of a comon counsell, choosed Sir John Cochrane president for that time and clerk[1]. Then, after several discourses by the

[1] 'On the 17th of April there was a meeting at Amsterdam, at which were 'present, the Earl of Argyle, Mr. Charles Campbell his son, Sir John Cochran 'of Ochiltree, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee,

Erle, and others, wee resolved the following points, and made acts upon them:

1st, To declare and undertake a war against the Duke of York and his assisters, for restoring and setling of the true religion, and the native rights and liberties of the three kingdomes:

2d, That wee tooke upon us, and other gentlemen of our country in these pairts, who should joine and goe along with us, the power and character of a counsell for managing the said undertaking, and all that related thereunto; so as when wee came into Scotland, others such as wee joining to our assistance should also have access to and be joined in the said counsell for the said management:

3d, Wee nominated and choosed the Erle of Argyle to be generall of our army, with as full power as was usually given to generalls by the free states in Europe:

4th, Wee appointed a person to draw up the declaration of war, to be given in to our next meeting.

In these things the Erle concurred very cordially, and Sir John, who, as president, subscribed the paper in our presence, and was appointed to keep it for us. Then wee spoke of the general termes of a declaration of war; and some wer desired to

'William Denholm of West Shiels, George Hume of Bassindean, John 'Cochran of Waterside, Mr. George Wishart, William Cleland, James 'Stuart, Advocate, and Mr. Gilbert Elliot. Sir John Cochran was chosen 'preses for that time.' Crookshank's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 369.—*Note from Rose on Fox.*

give in notes upon them, with there advice to the drawer; also persons wer pitched upon to be dispatched to severall places and persons in Scotland and Irland with messages, for preparing the countreyes against our landing as wee expected them to be concerned; & having at severall times discoursed the particulars, it was concluded, that such of us, as had usefull advises in any partlculare to give these messengers, should give them in private, and hast them away, since good opportunities for their passage then offered: and this last was quickly done, and they sent off. Some off us wer also comissionated to call together the ministers at Rotterdam for advice and concurrence in their station; and all wer desired to make ready for sailing, which wee presently set about.

By this time the Duke of Monmouth having his returns from England, some of us went to him, and got from him full and satisfying accounts of particulare and good encouragements, and saw the letters he had received. We also comunicated too and againe with him what was done among forreigners; and wee collected from all that no more needed be done at present, since wee had so good ground to beleev, that France would not be suffered to trouble us; but indeed wee had further hopes given if wee wer able to keep the feild but for a little. The Duke pressed us to make haist, saying, he would be ready before us. Some of us went to Rotterdam, called the ministers together, and thirteen having

met, wee proposed distinctly our designe, desired their opinion of it, and that some should goe along with us; they, after advising together, declared their good liking, and approbation of our undertaking, as a great duty, and offered to join us as wee judged necessary. Wee pitched on some of their number to goe along, who condescended, and after did accompany us. Then wee set about the declaration of war, which, with much paines, and after many alterations and amendments, was concluded & aggreed on, so as all wer satisfied; albeit some of us did not please the exemplifying greivances mentioned in the narrative so much, as fitter to be reserved for fuller papers; but others pressing it, they wold not oppose. In the mein time the armes and amunition wer divided, and put a-board the three shipes, as was resolved, but not so orderly as had been fit; which came after to make trouble on taking out what was wanted. Coming back to Amsterdam, some of us, having satisfied the Duke of our declaration, wer called to consider that for England; and after arguing and amendments settled it, and adjusted the two to one and the same purpose in the declarative pairt; the narratives being fitted to the different circumstances of the two nations.

All now being in readiness, three of us goeing together to take leev of the Duke of Monmouth, he gave us assurance that the sixth day after our parting from Amsterdam towards Scotland, he and

those with him should take ship for England; he told us, that he found Argyle was fond of the western isles of Scotland, and that wee thought it unfit to make stay there, but to haist to the Inlands; that he was altogether of our opinion, and intreated us, that wee might hinder his stay, and get us quickly to the Lowlands; 'for,' said he, 'if I did not 'know you are able to over-rule his inclination in 'this, and to effectuate it, I should not stir a foot.' Wee engaged to doe the uttermost wee could. Then, having resolved how to correspond with him wee tooke leev. Upon the 28th of April the last of us tooke boat at Amsterdam, and went down to the Anna, the best ship; wee found the Sophia lying by her, and many of our goods, in scoites[1] yet to be putt aboard. The David was fully loaded of what was to be put aboard it, and past the Vlie, having showen the passportes to the visitors, and got their pass, and so was clear to saile whenever the rest came up. The 29th and 30th dayes wer spent in loading the Anna and Sophia; the last day a large scoite came rowing round us, viewing with prospects[2], which we understood to be some of the Duke of York's English spyes; who after went in to the Vlie, and returned quickly to Amsterdam. May 1st, wee sailed downe to the Vlie and put out the token for the visitors (appointed by the States to come and see our passportes) from Amsterdam; they not

[1] Schuyts, vessels much in use in the Dutch internal navigation.—G. H. R.

[2] Telescopes.

coming, the Erle proposed to saile on; it was told him that if [we] should break away unvisited, a frigate of war waiting there would fire on us and persue us; and might probably sink or take both ours, not being of strenth to resist; beside, that those who were to returne, and had served us so stedably, would be taken and ruined, if we should escape and get away; therefore wee resolved to send in to the Vlie those who wer to goe backe, and desire the visiters to come out to us; if they refused or delayed, these sent in could save themselves by witnessing there having desired them; and if they came not to us by such an hour, wee would then saile upon our hazard. The Erle said, they would come, but so as to man our shipes and take them, and he doubted not but the English consul had prevailed so far as to order that. Wee told [him] that was not likely, for ther had not been time to procure the States order, without which they could not doe it; also there was no frigate there, but one which waited on another account; and if they came with armed men in scoites, wee wer too strong for them, and would think small hazard to fight them. The Erle not being able to divert us, said he would leev us and goe to the David, and instantly did so; which wee thought strange of, that he should take a place of safety and leev us on these termes. A little after, when wee wer sending into the Vlie, wee discerned a flag boat coming, which, as wee guessed, caryed

the visitors; wee putt our men under deckes, and they came aboard us. Our merchants produced their passportes, [and] entertained them kindly; they wer very civil, gave us their pass, and very heartily wishing us happiness, tooke leev and left us[1]. Wee presently sailed and got downe the lenth

[1] The observations of D'Avaux to his court shew, how imperfect the information obtained by the English and French ministers at the Hague about this expedition, and that of Monmouth's, was; as well as respecting the conduct of the Prince of Orange, and of the magistrates of Amsterdam, which two parties appear to have agreed in nothing, but in not giving any interruption to these attempts. D'Avaux, vol. iv. p. 181, 182; vol. v. p. 1 to p. 33, and p. 39.—*Note from Rose on Fox.*

It appears, however, as if a small matter might have very prematurely betrayed the design. The following German inscription is engraved in large Roman letters on each side of the blade, near the handle, of the sword used by Sir Patrick Hume in this expedition.

'GOTT BEWAHR DIE AUFRECHTE SCHOTTEN.

(God preserve the righteous Scots.)

It was evidently so engraved before the expedition sailed, as it is a prayer for its success. It appears then, that the foreign sword-cutler must have been in the general secret of it. That the cautious, able, and experienced Sir Patrick Hume should have thus most gratuitously and imprudently exposed to discovery, and complete frustration, an enterprise, in which probably the fortunes of his country, but assuredly his own, were involved, is out of all belief. But had he been of far lighter years and mind, it would be unintelligible, that this aspiration should be consigned to his blade in a language not that of the land in which he was an exile, and in all probability unknown to him.

It must be supposed, that this sword was one of those furnished for the expedition, and that it did not reach Sir Patrick Hume's hand until he was embarked. But though the Earl of Argyle appears to have been endowed with less circumspection than Sir Patrick, it is not to be credited, that with so enormous a responsibility on his head, he would have thus most foolishly compromised the success of this daring and dangerous attempt, without any assignable motive for so doing. His Lordship, in one of the conferences with his associates, speaks of his arms and ammunition as having been 'bought and

of the David without the Vlie; the Erle, seeing us, came quickly aboard the Anna againe, told us he had been visiting the David, found all well ordered there; but it wer fitt one should be there of note and discretion to comand; and if we would stay in the Anna, (for one was ordered in the Sophia some days befor,) he would himself go to the David and saile there. Sir John Cochran said, that could not be, but his Lordship must be in the Admirall ship; but that he and his son would go thither; this the Erle did not relish, saying he must be with him; then I (understanding pairtly the cause of the motion, there being already in the David persones fitt enough to comand, and reflecting upon the heat amongst us before the Erle left us) offered myselfe;

provided by other good persons to be employed as they pleased.' In another conference, in which he speaks of the arms, ammunition, expence of shipping, and necessary provisions, as furnished by himself, he is reminded, that what was furnished was not by him, but to him, for the common cause.

Some thoughtless and inexperienced person, of those who furnished the arms, may have committed some heedlessness through which the sword-cutler in Germany, who may have been a protestant, learnt the destination of his weapons; and the manufacturer must have thus unadvisedly expressed his sympathy with those who were to handle them; or, which is more probable, the manufacturer, under the fear of compromising himself with his own government, by furnishing a large quantity of arms to strangers, for an unknown purpose, may have insisted upon knowing their destination, as an indispensable condition of his providing them. Had this been the effusion of the anxiety of a British subject, to be recorded on swords fabricated for British hands in a native cause, the inscription would have been in English. The secret however appears to have been safely deposited in the scabbard, until it was thrown away.

The sword is straight, and basket-hilted, like those of the officers of Highland regiments. The artist has represented the hilt incorrectly in the title-page of the Observations on Mr. Fox's work.—G. H. R.

the Erle was sattisfied, and said I might take four or five with me, whom I pleased. I pitched on five whom I knew liked to be together; and taking leev, desired the Erle that when any calme was, or convenience, the counsell might meet; he said wee should, and would have time enough. As wee wer to goe, several gentlemen inclined to [have] gone with us; but the Erle petting at it, forbare and stayed there. When wee wer got aboard the David on Saturday, 2d May, at seven o'clock in the evening, all three ships set off with full saile before the wind; all the company wer as hearty as possible, and a more prosperous gale was never seen; for without coming near any vessell, and seeing very few, upon Tuesday, the 5th, in the morning, wee came to the mouth of Murray frith: and the Admirall lying by, the other ships did in like manner. The Erle had thoughts of going up the Firth, but changed and set saile again for Orkney; and on Wednesday about noone we came to anchor at Cairston. As wee wer comeing in, a boat went off the Anna to Kirkwall with Dr. Blackader and Mr. Spence, who wer appointed to return to us the next day at noone; but that same night they were seased on by the Bishope's order, and made prisoners; which wee got notice of next day in the afternoone. This troubled us much; wee went aboard the Admirall, & the Erle disowned the sending of them; only said, he complied with their owne inclination, and since they wer goeing gave them some things in commission;

but in all this no advice was taken; then many of us pressed ernestly that all the shipes should saile before next morning to Kirkwall, land five boat fulls of well armed men, under the safeguard of our canon, and relieve our prisoners at any rate; in respect the adventure was probable, and the danger not equal to the tash[1] and affront so airely[2] got, or to the loss of such two; beside that to leev them, while in our power to rescew, would be a great discouragement to those with us, who wer so bent on relieving them, and to those wee wer to come at in the countrey, by the noise of it. The Erle and Sir John opposed this motion vigorously, against much pleading to persuade them[3]. The Erle said he had thought of a way wherby the Bishop should be glad to send them. Wee told, the Bishop though never so much inclined durst not send them because of the state. But all could not doe. The Erle sent into Cairston, and surprised Mr. Stewart of Gramesoy, two Grames, brothers to Grameshall, one Mowat, and one Croftes, dwellers there, and made them prisoners. He himself wrote to the Bishop and caused them write, that our

[1] Discredit, from the French word *tache*, a spot, or stain. [2] Early.

[3] Mr. Fox, relying on Woodrow, says, 'Argyle, with his wonted generosity 'of spirit, was at first determined to lay siege to Kirkwall, in order to recover 'his friends; but partly by the dissuasions of his followers, and still more by 'the objections made by the masters of the ships, to a delay which might make 'them lose the favourable winds for their intended voyage, he was induced to 'prosecute his course.'—Mr. Fox's Historical work, p. 184.—It will be seen by reference to Woodrow how different an account he gives of many other matters in the course of this narrative.—*Note from Rose on Fox.*

prisoners might be sent for exchange of them, and assured them, if they came not by ten of Saturday morning, we would be gone, and whatever measure our two got, should be given to them. But though wee stayed till two afternoone, no return came, and the Erle would stay no longer; so wee sat saile towards the Lowes. The wind serving as wee wished it, wee came betwixt the mainland and the isles till wee wer upon Argyleshire. The Erle sent his son Charles to some of his friends, who would not meet or speak with him, much less come near the Erle. Mr. Charles returned, and endeavoured to put a faire face on things, but gave us the newes that all the gentlemen, friends to the Erle, wer prisoners, or on bond at Edinburgh; but that wee would not want commons enough. The Erle was discouraged at it, but especially that some, of whom he expected otherwise, would not come and talk with him; yet strove to put on a good countenance. Wee heard also that 600 Highlanders of the Marquis of Athole's command wer spoiling Eyla, a place wher the Erle expected many men and armes; and speaking with some of us together, he resolved to land their, and surprise them; so wee landed in the dark of the night, and marched through the country to Kilmolrow, the best towne of the isle, wher wee heard they wer, and whither we came airely in the morning. But they had got intelligence and wer fled away, taking with them all the armes in the isle of any worth; leaving only

a few trash which wee got, with a few men, whom wee armed and carried along with us; and sailed, the wind never failing us, to Kantyre, wher wee landed at Cambeltoone; ther wee printed our declaration, and the Erle did what he could to get men; but, as in Eyla, they came also here very slowly, and as it wer by constraint. But the Erle had sent Mr. Charles againe on the maine land to levie men, and had got some account from him which pleased him. Here we found some Lowlanders, honest, intelligent people, who joind heartily and for the cause sake (which, to say truth, was no motive to the Highland comons, for they neither understood nor valued that; but kindness to the Erle prevailed with a few, others came, as it seemed, to get our new armes, and steall away;) these advised us to make haist to the Lowlands, as indeed we inclined much to doe, and ernestly pressed the Erle to think of it, and to hold a counsell; he said, since [we] wer to get men here, and had hope of a good number, wee could not goe, but might send some to prepare the countrey; as for a counsell, there was no present need, nor could he get time to attend it, for modelling and arming such as came. His way here was to stay ashoare all day, still busied about something, and to return at night to his ship; but obliged some of us alwise to stay in the towne upon some plausible reason of bussiness to doe. Wee in the mean time prepared dispatches for such as wer to be sent to try the readiness of the Low-

lands; and to them gave instructions, and sent them off to several places. Mr. Ailloofe, Mr. Rumbold, and Mr. Griffith, English gentlemen that came along with us, wer here designed for charges; Ailloofe and Griffith for Collonell and Lieutenant Collonell of a foot regiment, and each got a company; Rumbold for Collonell of a regiment of horse, and got a troope. Other persons, not to be named, got companies, being of that country, but no comission was yet given: wee that stayd ashore discoursing together, it was moved that the counsell might meet and comissionate the officers already designd, and also such others as wer fitt for charge, as most who came from Holland wer; that by the naming many Collonells, (for wee thought of naming no higher as yet,) Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, and Captains to horse and foot, wee might encourage, and have the greater credit among the comons; and that till wee came in the Lowlands, wher these wer to make levies, they should march in one company of officers, with comanders for the interim upon them; and that for the comand of all the Highlanders that could be got levied, officers of all sortes might be comissionate of their owne gentlemen, who would joine us and accept. This motion Sir John Cochran resisted mightily, alleadging it a vaine thing to comissionate Collonells or Captains, &c. without regiments, troopes, and companies, till wee came in the Lowlands and got sogers, (though most already designed wer in that

caise) and as for the Highlanders, it was not fitt that any of us should medle to name officers to the Erle's men, who did best know the persones of his owne country meet to comand. It was answered, the Erle might choose and name them by what advise he pleased; but the counsell was to give them comissions, and these two did very well consist; but he would not be persuaded, knowing that the Erle aimed at the sole power of giving comissions; yet he never adventured to practise it, finding that it would not pass.

In a short time wee got very encouraging returns from the Lowlands, and ernestly pressed the Erle that wee might divide, and some of us goe thither. He seemd satisfied, but withall told us that his son Char:, and other gentlemen, wer at Talbot-castle, with 1200 men; and if we would saile the ships thither, and many boates wee had, he, with Sir John and a good pairt of the sogers, would take a land march throw Kantire, levie the whole country, and joine them; and that then we might goe to the Lowlands with a considerable division of men (for it was not fit to goe too single) and he with another considerable pairt would stay there, levie men, and act against Athole, or as occasione fell in. Sir John was for dividing and parting presently; but the Erle being wilfull, and the motion resonable he made, and the work but of twenty-four houres, we wer most of us of the Erle's opinion; so he marched, and we sailed; came to Tarbot, and found our

friends at a rendevous here. We made, of horse and foot, 1800 men. Here the Erle, in printing a declaration concerning himselfe, and in modelling the men, spent more time than needed (as indeed he did likewise at Cambleton) for all wee could doe to haste him on. Here also he got account of the oppressions that Athole's men did about Inverary, and tooke the fancie, the unluckie fancie, of beating Athole and his men from that place, before wee should goe to the Lowlands. This vexed us exceedingly. We told him, that Athole having the castle might keep it till he got succoures in dispite of us; that his men would sculke and keep from fighting of purpose, till the inland forces and militia should get together, and incapacitate the best places of the country from joining when wee came; and very likely either hinder our landing, or give us no time to gather, but force us to fight too soone. He answered, that our shipes might sail to Loch Fine, and ly before the castle of Inverary to molest them with our guns, and the army might march by land, and fight them out. It was replyed, that the ships with our armes and amunition could not goe; for the English frigates (of which we then had heard that they wer at Aire) would easily come to Loch Fine, and catch our shipes and stores, so as there could be no escaping; and for fighting Athole's men, it was sure they wold retire from us, of purpose to keep us up in that place. He, finding so great aversion from that motion, both in gentlemen

and seamen, said he was willing to goe altogether to the Lowlands, but the Highland gentlemen could not be inclined to leev their country under the enemies feet, and goe with us. Wee took what paines wee could with them, and desired the Erle that it might be proposed to themselves; who getting them together proposed it to them, as a motion from the Lowland gentlemen. They desired to goe apairt to talk among themselves of it, and very soon returned againe, and unanimously agreed that it was the best to goe to the Lowlands; and declared they would leev that country, and their intrests, to what hazard so ever: for they doubted not, that wee would see their damages repaired, if wee prevailed in the Lowlands; which was the place indeed to be reckoned upon for the support of our business, and not the Highlands. Wee wer well pleased at this answer, and assured them of what they expected, if we should prevaile. The Erle said litle, but seemed determined: and being late, they parted. Next day he made a new motion, that he thought wee wer so many men as might serve both to goe to the Lowlands with us, and stay with him in that countrey, as he inclined; wherby he mignt get more men ther, chase Athole's men out, or at lest protect the countrey, and put the inland forces, or pairt of them, to be sent that way; whereby wee in the Lowlands might levie with the more ease. We condescended heartilie to the motion, sate with him, agreed what men, armes, and

amunities should go, and what ship. He made a step out from us, and in half an houre after called out Sir John, and retreated from all condescended to; which so madded Sir John, and the rest of us, that every one discernd great dissatisfaction amongst us; but provisiones falling scarce, wee wer almost forced from thence; putt all aboard ships and boats, and sailed towards Boot. On the way [we] tooke a timber ship, who had seen the English frigate, The Fisher. In the evening we landed at Rothsay in Boot, and lodged there; next day people wer sent out to drive in kowes for meat, and some partyes to severall places in the isle. Sir John Cochrane and I went in the Sophia and David up Clide to Greenock, intending to get meat there for the camp; wee discerned a strong party of horse coming toward the town; when they came at it, I caused fire two guns, which putt them from their ground; they marched up the hill. Sir John was for landing men, but I was against it, because we had but few, and only three ship boates, that could not cary above twenty a-piece at most, rowers and all; yet Sir John sent two boats full with a person I had a great kindness for, Mr. Fullarton, commanding. I, seeing this, sent a boat full, and went myself in a litle pinace with other six, all it would hold. Fullarton's boate only was landed, when the pinace came ashoare: he drew up twelve firelocks in a little yard, seing as many horsemen coming towards him; Houston of that Jlk younger comanding

the partie held up a hankerchief; wherupon Fullarton with three went out to parly; but while parlying, Houston fired on him, then ran off; the other fired after him, and as some other of the horsemen came up to fire, the other three with Fullarton fired, and beat them off. By this time other two boates with men landed, and wee came, and joining Fullarton, drew up the whole pairty together; but our great gunes played over us, as I had ordered, came near the body of horse, and made them reell; so they marched off over the hill and left us. Then Sir John landed, and we went in the towne, and tooke some meal out of a girnell, and a pretty barque out of the harbour, and returned to Rothsay.

While wee wer away, the Erle had caused burn the castle, because a house of his had been burnt in Cowall; this vexed us much, because it savored of private revenge, and wee disliked these methods. Also he had sent Mr. Charles into Cowall to get some more men; but getting few, and wanting amunition, was pursued by Athole's men; and he leaving his party too inconsiderately to fetch some amunition, they imediately run after him. Athole's men pursued, kil'd some, took a few prisoners, the rest escaping into Eylandgrig castle. This affront made the Erle more intent on fighting Athole's men, and backward of going to the Lowlands, so as wee wer put beyond all patience: so that meeting together, comission was given by the rest to Sir John and mee, to treat with the Erle perempterly on

the point; the Erle would gladly have shifted, but being pressed fell in great passion. Sir John ceded, but I insisted in high termes with him; so as he came, as afterward appeared, to suspect that wee would comand the shipes, and goe without him. But he yielded not, only desired twenty-four hours delay, and he wold satisfy us all what he would doe; he went in boat imediately, and viewed Islandgrig castle; at his return he told us, that the English frigates being on the coast, wee could not saile with our armes and amunition aboard to the Lowlands; for beside that they might fall on us at sea, and sinke all, we could not get time for them to liver and to take out our store: but he had found a strong place wher to put our store, which was within so narrow rocky passages of sea, as no man of war durst adventer it; and the castle in an isle within the loch, that no cannon could be brought to it by land; and if we would saile thither to see it, he would take us by the Keiles of Boot, so as wee should have it in our choose still, whether to unloade, or goe loaded to the Lowlands; to which if we inclined, there wer such wayes of escaping among these Keiles, that in dispite of many shipes, wee might saile whither the frigates should not discerne. Sir John yielded; others advised to comand one or two of the shipes, and leev the admirall, and the two prises, and severall small barques with open boats, with Argyle; and indeed wee wer masters of the seamen, who wer ready to obey us,

whatever the Erle should contradict; but I could not condescend to part in that manner, and persuaded them to comply with him for these reasones: 1st, that such a breach would be shamefull; 2d, that if we wer catched by the way, or not succeed in landing, or after landing, the ruine of the affaire would be charged upon us; 3d, I did really believe that he would oppose us by force; for he had comanded companies of Highlanders aboard all the shipes; 4thly, that his overture caried somthing of reason in its alternative, if his suppositions hold. By these arguments they wer diverted, but John Cochrane, who caried worthily all along, with the greatest diffieulty. Here wee got returnes from Irland, by our messengers sent from Holland thither, very satisfactory.

Wee sailed neer Eylandgrig, straite and difficult passages indeed, saw the castle which the Erle was so fond of, and being asked how wee liked it, some told the Erle it signified nothing; I, having advised with the seamen, who told mee that the frigates might come up if well piloted, indeavoured to dissuade the Erle to put the store in the castle, as certainly being safer in the shipes; he said I had not skill, but was much mistaken. This question was quickly decided by the frigates their blocking up the two passages wherby only our shipes could get out; they being at the first piloted in, whither the Erle thought they durst not adventer; yet he said still, they could not come the lenth

of the castle, the passages being much narrower; and indeed our shipes, tho' far less than they, could hardly get up. Here was all the amunition, and good armes put up, the castle garisond, and an earthen fort built, on which our best ship gunes wer planted, none being above five or four-pounders; on a fancie, but a foolish one, that if the frigates should get up, these guns would cut their shrowdes and tackling at greater distance than their thirty or twenty-eight pounders would batter the earthen new made fort.

While the shipes wer unloading, and fort making, the Erle comanded Collonell Rumbold with the horse, and Major Henderson with 300 foot, who marched by land to the side of Loch Fine, over-against Inverarie, and so up the lochside to Arkinlas; some 500 of Athole's men came marching about the Lochhead a short way towards them; they engaged, and our men did well, killed severall of them, but could not force them to a closs fight, or from their strong grounds, where they made a show of salying and skirmishing. Notice came to Argyle, who immediately comanded the army to march to Inverarie ward, for assisting our men, who wer said to be engaged and need aide. The voluntiers that came from Holland had chosen mee to leed them as a modelld company, yet wer very averse from marching thither, (though I ernestly pleaded to persuade them) alleadging plainly, that it was but a trick of the Erle to engage us against Inverary; and that our pairty was not en-

gaged; yet I prevailed with them, by promising that if they wer not engaged already, who wer there, and that Athole's men would not fight us at our coming, I should instantly return with them, and take what course they should resolve upon. The Erle hearing of their aversion, and not expecting them along with him, but that they intended to pairt for the Lowlands, gave an order to the comander of the castle, and ordered of the fort and shipes in his absence, that if any persons should goe away, he should disarme them; but this wee knew not till wee returned. All marched about a mile, when notice came to the Erle, that ther was no engaging or forcing Athole's men to fight; and that they sought only to gain time. When our men assaulted, they tooke to the rockes and strong grounds; when they retired, then they offered to pursue, and only skulked too and againe so, and seemed to intend no other; so wee imediately marched back to Eylandgrig.

The fort being compleated, the Erle resolved to march wher wee might get some victualls and provision, which was fallen very scarce, but still bent on Inverarie would hold that way. Wee pressing still for the Lowlands, he motioned that all the lowlanders, gentlemen, and voluntiers, should be mounted on the best horses wer there, and with some loades of armes and amunition march imediately to the Lowlands, by the head of Loch Long. Wee wer satisfied, but what fate was in it, he ime-

diately, in less than halfe ane houre, resisted, and would needs have all goe one way. Then he offered to take the shipes, and adventer by the frigates, either the one passage or the other, and fight them; and that in the mean time the boates might steell by with the rest of the men; wee consulted the seamen, who said it was very madnes to offer it. Wee had not one gun could hurt them, neither instruments for boarding, nor fitt men; every gun of their's could sink us, and wee could not pass without musket shot of them, the passages wer so straite wher they lay. On these grounds, all most true, wee answered, the attemp wer unreasonably disparate. Then he came to resolve to march to the Lowlands; but many of the Highlanders wer run away with our armes, which made him ashamed, and to fret mightily, and very ernest to make them up againe; but truth is, wee could get no meat for whom wee had.

After setling the comand of the garison and fort, and great trouble in persuading the seamen to stay in the ships, which they wer ordered to sink, (if the frigates should pass the castle and come to them) and flie into the castle, we marched to Glendurowle, wher he stay'd three days, doe what we could, in the contrary hoping to make up men; but insteed of that, more run away, watch what wee could. Then we marched another day to Loch Streen Head, and being forced to draw in cattell of the country for meat, such, as in that place came in to us, went

almost all away; and they who stay'd, having neither meat nor bread, wer sore straitend. Here the Erle finding the 3000 Highlanders, he had reckoned upon, come very near the 300 spoken of (for they wer not then above 500) besides the Lowlanders fled from the inlands to Kantire before our landing, who had joined us, some more with the voluntiers from Holland than 300, was inexpressably damped and discouraged. Sir John and I endeavoured what wee could to encourage him, and haiste him to the Lowlands, for the few with us wer hearty enough; so wee marched and crossed Loch Long troublesomely in boats, and lay on the rockie side of it all night. In the morning came the whole men of the garison, fort, and shipes, with the newes, that the frigets came up closs to the castle, and laid open all their great guns so formidably, as made them (perceiving that they would quickly batter downe both fort and castle, and being certainly informed, that Athole with 3000 men, being advertised from the frigetes, was coming thither and within 3 miles,) haistely to leev the shipes unsunk, and the castle with the whole amunition and armes, to the enemie, (the blowing up which the governor comanded and intended misgiving,) who got all in their hands.

At this newes, the Erle and all our men wer greatly surprised and dispirited; but he marched on to Loch Gaire; and here I had much adoe to hinder many of the voluntiers from parting downe

Loch Long, to take their hazard in any Lowlands they should come at. The Erle entreated us by a message to come on two miles farther, to Loch Gaire, to resolve and take a joint course; with great work I persuaded them: but at my coming, insted of consulting, Sir John told mee the Erle was resolved with all haist to march over Leven water, and fight the Lowland forces wherever wee found them. He told mee also the intelligence, that Huntly was coming up with many men to joine Athole, who would quickly be upon our heels; that Dunbarton, with the standing forces and militia, was about Glasgow; and presently I found, that all these newes were dispersed among our men, and they hugely disheartened. I told Sir John, that was the madest course in the world, and gave the reasons I afterwards exprest to the Erle: but albeit he saw all others convinced and of my opinion, he would not condescend, nor (such a faite was in it) so much as goe along with mee to reason with the Erle; so I went alone; and he telling me his present resolution, without asking my advice, I repeated the same things I had talked to Sir John, and the gentlemen; that our armes and amunition being now lost with our ships, and our men thereby exceedingly discouraged, and most pairt run away, it wer madness for us to keep together, or think of fighting the forces in a body, to lose the remaine of our hopes in one desparate attemp; but that the best was, that he and his Highlanders should march

backe by the head of Loch Long, wher he had said there was a pass, which 100 men would easily maintaine against 1000, to Argyleshire, wher he might probably get more men, and wher his Highlanders would fight, if any wher, being their owne intrest; and wher he might easily shun fighting, and levieing the countrey, march to enemies' lands, which might render, both Athole's men, who already wer breaking homeward, and Huntely's suspicius; and cause them either march together, for defending their oune, or els run away from their leaders to their oune countrey; but without doubt, he might recruit himselfe, by the whole harassed people about Inverarie, whence now Athole was parted, and through all Argyle and Lorne; and make a good shift till he should hear of us; and that wee should divide the voluntiers and lowlanders, being within three hunder and fiftie in number, equally, one halfe to goe doune Loch Long in boates now ready; the other halfe doune Loch Gaire, to land at two distant places very fitt, which I named, wher no forces wer at present, mount on horses, such as they could not miss of, for dispatch in marching; and march to strong grounds in these countreys, that people might have easie get to us, and joine us; by this meanse, all should not be discussed at once; if one pairty wer broak, another perhapes might shift; or it might be, the Lord would help us to gather up our crumbs, and bring us together againe. After much more discourse, the Erle re-

mained obstinately impersuadable, and as opinitive and wilful as ever. But said, any, that would not goe with him, might doe as they pleased; his intention was not to fight the enemie if he could shift them, but to march straight to Glasgow, and there doe the next best. Some wer forced to comply, who could not think of parting, but by consent; and I againe persuaded the most unwilling, that we did not seperate.

This Tuesday, the 16th of June, we marched from Loch Gaire, and crossed Leven at night, three miles above Dunbarton, having spent five weekes in the Highlands to no purpose, wherof the Erle alone was the cause; for Sir John was persuaded by him to goe cross to us against his own inclination; but this was the means to our ruine. We encamped on Leven side, and next morning marched airely, weary and hungry enough, as I thought, to take the hill way for Glasgow; but it proved not so. About 7 in the morning we discovered a great pairty of horse on a litle hill top very near us; they sent off a detachment towards us; but some of our horse going of to them they retired. Having no intelligence, wee thought the whole army was behind, and that a fore pairty; and drew up ours in batalia, and stood to our armes above an houre. The Erle very discouraged came to mee wher I had drawn up the voluntiers; asked what I thought best to doe, for he had just now intelligence that the army was not at Glasgow; but

he feared they wer not far from these horsemen, whom he considered as a fore pairty. I answered, 'It 'is not time now to make many words; send some 'horsemen to view if the whole army be not there; 'why doe wee halt our march? Let us not again 'stop our march; but since wee are now betwixt 'them and Glasgow, let us keep strong grounds, and 'a strong rear-guard of our horse, and the voluntiers 'and Lowlander foot, and we shall be able to come 'thither in despite of them; and if they come hard 'on us, that wee needs must, our whole body shall 'fight them;' he answered 'That is certainly the best 'of it; I will doe it.' So wee marched; and I kept the reare-guard with the volentiers. Our march was in very good order; and in a litle the scouts came in, and told us the party of horse wee had seen wer only gentlemen and militia; and that none of the army was there. But insted of marching toward Glasgow, Sir John had persuaded the Erle to march to Kilmaronock, quite contrary, but not far off, for we came thither about 10 o'clocke. I expostulated with him; he said, the men would not be able to march to Glasgow without refreshment; (but they would gladly delayed it till their coming thither rather than lose three houres march by that halt,) being over marcht and wearied already; and in truth wee all greatly needed both refreshment of rest and meat; and he had caused provide very well of victuals, so as all had a sufficient maile; but this halt proved fatall. About two afternoon, wee

marched whither I knew not, but supposed towards Glasgow; but indeed it was to the great road from Dunbarton to Stirling. The doeing this, and designe of it, or reasons for it, wer concealled from mee; and none in the company of volentiers knew the countrey, or whither they wer goeing; and wee had not marched an houre, when some who had passed a litle burne, and got up a litle hill on the van, discovered the army within a halfe mile of them, marching on the highway. Hearing this, I went over a horseback to view, found Sir John talking very high with the Erle of a brave advantage we might have of them; I know not with what eyes he saw them. When I came, and had observed them, and him to, he asked, what was my advice; I said, the same I had given before,—to take the strong grounds, keep a good reare-guard, and not stop our march to Glasgow, nor fight unless forced to itt. He said, it wer ane inexcusable thing to let so great an advantage slip; there was but a small pairt of the army there, and the defeating of them would make all the countrey flocke to us. I desired him remember, how disheartened our men wer, how starved, how overmarcht, and how bent on Glasgow; also, what men wee could reckon would stand to it, not 500; in all we wer not 900; and of these some wer still stealing off; and by what I had observed of them, many more would. Againe, that wee saw in view a regiment of red coat foot, and severall troupes of horse, too strong for us to

attaque; and I assured him, he would find the whole army following toward Leven or Dunbarton, upon intelligence of us, thoe the covers of the ground kept us from seeing of them (as it after proved); and therfor since evening was approaching, and wee could without being seen of them, or suffering our sogers to see them, put a great hill betwixt them and us, and let our horses be in their view, till the foot wer marched an houre, and then come off another way by help of guides wer there; the enemy, who wer taking a ground, would take some time to draw up, and certainly not venter on the hils and mosses, to persue, till the next day. All this prevailed not; our men wer drawen over the burne in view of the enemie; and before wee could get them drawen up, wee wer well convinced, that the whole army and militia was there together; and our most inclined to fight wisht to be off. Our men saw nothing but death; yet truly the Lowlanders, except a few persons who slipt off and escaped, and some of the Highlanders, shewed abundance of resolution. The Erle came to mee, and asked my opinion of the ground; I said, I likt it not, and gave my reason; but shewed him a better hard by, which he preferred, and said we should draw up upon it; but such was his confusion, that indeed wee wer never put orderly in batalia. Wee stood to our armes till evening; the enemie encamped and kindled fires on thar ground; and so did wee. But when our fires wer kindled, the Erle told us,

wee should march off quickly through the mosses at the nearest to Glasgow. So wee marched with as much silence as we could; at first in order; but that was suddenly quit, and our retreat became very fowle: for the Highlanders run, and crowded on the Lowland companies, broke their order, that every one was apt to tread downe another; so ther was no safety but being off them behind or at a side; wee marched hard the whole night throw very bad, almost impassable ground. Next morning, being Thursday, June 18, wee came to Kilpatrick, not above 500 men in all, sadly wearied; soone as I got downe the hill very faint & weary, I tooke the first alehouse, and quickly ate a bit of bread, and took a drink, and imediately went to search out the Erle; but I met Sir John with others accompanieing him, who, takeing mee by the hand, turned mee, saying, 'My heart, goe you with mee?' 'Whi-'ther goe you,' said I? 'Over Clide, by boat,' said he: I, 'Wher is Argyle? I must see him.' He, 'He is 'gone away to his owne countrey; you cannot see 'him.' I, 'How comes this change of resolution, and 'that wee went not together to Glasgow?' He, 'It 'is not time to answer questions; but I shall satisfy 'you afterward.' To the boates wee came, filled two and rowed over; but a good troop of horse on Askine Green waited our landing, and came as near the water as they could draw up to fire on us, and planted some foot men and firelocks behind some dry boates lying on the shoar; yet they

wounded only one man. Wee shot hard among them, beat the men from their dry boates, wounded and killed horses, and made the rest well in disorder; so they marched away. Wee stay'd till such, as wer to come over, came over, in all about 100 men; then wee marched to a place to dine, which I knew not; Sir John was busie, causing get horses taken, to help some of us in our march; and an honest gentleman, who was present, told mee the manner of his parting with the Erle. Argyle being in the roome with Sir John, the gentleman coming in found confusion in the Erle's countenance and speach; in end he said, 'Sir John, I pray advise 'mee what I shall doe; shall I goe over Clide with 'you, or shall I goe to my owne countrey?' Sir John answered, 'My Lord, I have told you my opinion; 'you have some Highlanders here about you; it is 'best you goe to your owne countrey with them, for 'it is to no purpose for you to go over Clide. My 'Lord, faire you well.' Then he call'd the gentleman, 'Come away, Sir;' who followed him when I met with him. Having got some country horses, about ten, such as wer lest able to walk mounted, and wee came to the place wee designed to eat at, upon a hill; thither the troope with some joined them persued us. Sir John would have us divide in three parties, and goe over a litle dean to charge them; I would had them takeing meat, and sitting a gaird on a stone dike, to defend the dean by turnes; that wee might not loose time, but get at a

strong moss, he intended to be at, before night; but he gave me a reason to satisfaction. Wee drew up, marched out, and putt them from their ground; for they wer only come to dog us till more forces came up. Wee returned, and all who had gone out, about 90, (the rest being Highlandmen fled over the hill in our sight) tooke meat and marched presently to Elistoun-bridge, the troop keeping sight of us the whole way. We had stay'd but a litle there, when we got an alarm; wherupon wee marched up the hill, and severall Highlandmen slipt away by the backs of the yaird dykes; some took leev and pairted. Those, who resolved to die on that ground, and to sell their lives at as worthie a rate as they could, march'd up; and seeing themselves surrounded with squadrons of horse and dragoons, wer not at all dashed, but expressed much courage. Wee had scarce time to take up a ground in the place called Moure dikes, in a little closs of stubly ground, within a low ston dike, and to draw up, when a strong troop appeared to assault us. Sir John, who caried with as much bravery as any man could doe, conceiving the troup to be his nephew the Lord Rosse's, intended to have bespoke him, and had begun on horsebacke; but unluckily one of our men fireing his gun, they fired on us; and Sir John being interupted got from his horse, and with abundance of danger joined our body; and caried the markes of severall pistoll shot on his buff coate. Wee beat them off with sore stroakes;

yet only one of them lay on the place in that charge, which was given upon our left hand. Then another party came imediately from the body above us, and charged on the right hand; ours received them most courageously, beat them off in disorder with smart blowes; and Captain Cleland, who comanded, lay dead on the place. After that the strong body below us advanced; but our men wer very ready, and received them briskly, that they approached not to the dike; and imediately a strong troup on the left hand charged furiously, and got in over the dike a litle below us, and charged us closs. But our men fired hard and home, and run on them with that spirit, that they broke them in pieces, and beat them off in great disorder; for they caried sore blowes at that incounter; for I did perceive our shotes gall them. Ther horse charged no more; but some dragoons on foot came to charge on our right hand; but wee quickly made them run to their horse. They then planted on a dike above us, and played on us with rifled guns and firelockes, and wee on them; by which ther was slaughter and wounds on both sides; and so night came on. Wee advised what to doe, and resolved, that by night wee would fall out upon the squadron above us on the right; and if it wer possible get to a strong moss before morning; for we knew, that they had sent for foot to fight, and overpoure us; but finding that they wer drawen off the ground, wee marched off quietly unperceived; and marching all night,

came to a safe hiding before the morning, wher wee lurked all that day. Wee had no men kill'd in the action but four, few more wounded; but it was carried with that readiness of courage, that wer I to choose seventy-five men upon my life's hazard, I would not reject one of that seventy-five (and no more ther was) that came of that night. The next night we marched againe, and came to another lurking place; stay'd till night; engaged among us never to part but by consent. And late, Sir John got notice Argyle was taken, and his party quite broke; wherupon he came and told us, that now it was impossible to stay together, but we must pairt, and shift each for himself; so wee condescended, and pairted.

This narrative is true, not full, for I am forced to conceall the names of persons, places, yea countreys, till a freer time.' I have written this haistily, and had not time to correct errors in the write.[1]

[1] The interesting memoirs of Mr. William Veitch and George Brysson have appeared lately; the latter of the two was in the Earl of Argyle's expedition; and the editor, Dr. M'Crie, has very fairly concluded from all the evidence now before the public, that with respect to the Earl's accusation of Sir John Cochrane and Sir Patrick Hume, that they, though undesignedly, were 'by ignorance, cowardice, and faction' the greatest cause of the failure of the expedition, and of his captivity, that the charge of cowardice must certainly be abandoned, and that the others cannot be subscribed to. Brysson remained with them until the final dispersion of their party; and the charge of cowardice against them is decidedly negatived by his account of their passage of the Clyde, and of their subsequent transactions, which is illustrative and completely confirmatory of that part of Sir Patrick Hume's narrative. He tells us, that when it was determined to force the passage of the Clyde, Sir John Cochrane entered a boat with ten or twelve men, and Polwart (Sir Patrick

Hume) another with as many more, and that they crossed it under the fire of the enemy, reserving their own until it could be effective; that they drove back their opponents, and then sent those two boats back to bring over the rest of their people. Like Sir Patrick Hume he describes Sir John Cochrane's conduct in the command of the handful of brave men, who kept together with unshaken resolution, and fought at the Muirdykes, at times hand to hand with the assailants, as equally distinguished by courage and intelligence.—G. H. R.

PAPERS

OF

PATRICK EARL OF MARCHMONT.

Confiscation of Sir Patrick Hume's Estate.

RIGHT TRUSTY, &c. We greet you well. Whereas we are graciously resolved to bestow the Estate of Sir Patrick Home, late of Polwart, upon our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, Kenneth Earl of Seafort, as a further testimony of our Royal favour and bounty towards him, under the reservations nevertheless under-mentioned:—first, that he be obliged to pay all the confirmed debts due out of the Estate of Polwart; secondly, that he be obliged to relieve the Lady Hilton, and the representatives of her deceased husband, the Laird of Hilton, of all the debt wherein he stands engaged, any manner of way, either by himself or with other cautioners, for the said Sir Patrick Home, late of Polwart; thirdly, that he be, also, bound to pay the young Lady Polwart's jointure, conform to her contract of marriage with the said Sir Patrick Home, and the additional jointure thereafter granted unto her; both extending to three thousand merks, Scots

money, yearly; and, fourthly, that he be likewise engaged to make present payment of two thousand pounds sterling money to us, or any whom we shall order to receive the same. It is therefore our will and pleasure, and we hereby do authorise and require you, with all convenient diligence, to cause such signatures, presentations, bonds, and others to be prepared and sent up to pass our Royal hand, as may fully secure the present payment of the said two thousand pounds sterling unto us, with the performance of the other conditions abovementioned, and may likewise secure the said Earl of Seafort in the remainder of the estate aforesaid. For doing whereof this shall be to you, and all others respectively, who may be therein any way concerned, a sufficient warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court, at the day of , 1686, and of our Reign the 2d year.

By his Majesty's command.

Directed on the back thus:—

'To our Right trusty, &c., James Earl of Perth, our Chancellor, and the rest of the Lords Commissioners of our Treasury of our Ancient Kingdom of Scotland[1].'

[1] Kenneth Earl of Seaforth was a Privy Counsellor to James the Second, whom he followed to France and to Ireland.

Intelligence from the Hague and from London in January 1687[1].

Leyden, Friday.

Sir,

The letter which I brought hither seemed a surprise and trouble to the receiver, who read it presently by me, so as I observed it to be a long and puzzling letter; immediately he told his Lady, who came in, and me, the import of it: that S. J. having come to London upon Melford's desire (who gave him to hope that, if he came up, somewhat might be obtained for his father), was short while there, when brought to the King[2] in his closet; who asking, if he was satisfied to serve him, he answered, that he had still been, and was now, ready to shew himself a loyal subject in his Majesty's service, in whatever he were able. The King said, that he did intend a particular charge for him, and to have him his advocate in Scotland. S. J. said, that it appeared by his Majesty's methods in England, as if he expected that all who he employed should embrace his religion, or intended to employ none others;

[1] This letter is an inclosure in a letter addressed to Sir Patrick Hume, as Monsieur Walton, at Utrecht. It is docketed in his handwriting as follows: 'From Wm. Denhom of West Sheall, Jan. 1687.' Sir William Denholm was in the Earl of Argyle's expedition.

[2] King James the Second.

that for himself, he was so satisfied of the reformed, that no worldly consideration could make him alter. Then the King said, that he had often declared, he would not trouble any of his subjects on account of their religion. S^r^ J. said, though there should be no stop on that score, he was not capable to serve his Majesty in that office, for that, from a natural aversion against meddling with criminal matters, he had never applied himself to study that part of the law. The King said, he would speak again to him when he had thought of it, and went out. S^r^ Ja. considers this as the step of a design to ruin him, and seems to take it up very right, and to resolve very worthily. The Marquis d'Albeville was lately with the Princess of Orange, and told from the King, that his Majesty was not to change the established religion in his kingdom; that he intended not to alter her right of succession, whatever any one might talk; that the reason why he turned out the Bishop of London was, that bishop's rude reflecting upon him in sermons, and calling him an idolater. The Princess presently made answers, which much please:— that whatever his Majesty intended, it is strange, that he should strengthen the popish interest so much, both in Britain and in Ireland, and put all places and power in hands of papists; and cannot but breed a jealousy that he intends a total change, especially seeing that the papists ordinary expression is, that their catholic roman religion and the reformed are as the ark and Dagon; that she is

satisfied of the certainty and fitness of the comparison, though not as applied by them, knowing well that popery is the Dagon, which will not stand before the ark, but must fall and be broken in God's appointed time; that for her right, as his eldest daughter, she believes that his Majesty had never provocation from her, or so little kindness for her, as to think of attempting to deprive her of her right and place in the succession to the crown, that being a thing so established by the laws of his kingdoms, as not by his Majesty alterable, and so justly, as she believes his Majesty would have no such intention; that for turning off the Bishop of London, she is sorry for it, especially since for asserting that which, on the matter, none of the true religion, nor she herself, though with due respect to his Majesty her father, durst deny in their conscience that the followers of the popish religion are idolaters. These were her Highness's answers, which were the more noticed, that they were altogether her own, and made off hand, before she met with the Prince or any other to advise with; and the D. repeated them to some with great satisfaction and approbation. Yesterday S^r^ Ja. had a letter from R. M., intimating that the Envoié had acquainted the Princess with the King's intention to legitimate his bastard son, but with no design to alter the succession. This can never be done by the laws of England; but 'tis like the pope may do what he can, which surely the papists will own; and what this, backed with

an army, may produce, is uncertain. There are four thousand of new troops to be levied in Scotland, four thousand Irish to come over to England. The Duke of Beaufort is put off the Lieutenancy of the west of England; Dartmouth and Feversham from their commands; which shews that English papists are too narrow for the King's business. The sending over Dinkveldt to England is delayed; which only makes me give some belief to R. M.'s news anent Fitz-James, otherwise very unlikely, at least to appear so early. There is a jealousy of Dr. Stillingfleet's turning papist; Earl of Murray has declared; and the rest of the news I had from England hold. Impart this to my dear friend Dundass, but keep this paper to return to me, for I have further use of it.

I am, with all my heart,
His and your most engaged servant
and true friend,
P. S.

I have got yours of 20th just now.

A Letter from Sir Patrick Hume to Sir William Denholm.

Letter[1] sent from Utrecht, in June 15, 1688, to Sir William Denholm of Westshiel to be communicated to the presbyterian ministers in Scotland, who were much solicited at that time by one who had much power with them, Mr. James, afterwards Sir Ja. Stewart, to address King James VII. for a toleration, which would have included the papists, and thereby been very acceptable to the King, but as dangerous to the protestant interest.

Sir,

I got yours, and in answer I shall without preamble give you my ingenuous thoughts of the matter which we discoursed about.

I am persuaded that the popish plot, though ridiculed of late by some, is not only yet a carrying on, but, by God's just permission, advanced to a pitch against the Christian church, especially that ingrate and careless one in Britain, far more dangerous and imminent than ever heretofore; for these reasons,

[1] There is amongst the Marchmont Papers a copy of this letter in Sir Patrick Hume's own handwriting, and there is another in that of his son Alexander Lord Marchmont. The preface to the letter above given precedes it in that last mentioned copy.

which, passing many others both strong and evident, I shall here insist upon; 1. reason; that God has suffered so many protestants in Britain of note upon many accounts to fall in the wonderful and extremely dangerous mistake of considering the deepest laid method for carrying on that hellish design as a kindness done to them, and as a relishing relief from prelatic violence.

2. reason; that some of these same are gone so far in their deplorable error, as to misconstruct the methods of their greatest friends, and to calumniate their persons, and that in favour of their greatest enemies.

3. reason; that these same mistaking protestants are more inclined to trust their whole doctrine, worship, discipline, and government in religion, liberties, lives, rights, and estates in society, in a bottom with papists, the known enemies to their interest in all these eight points, than with the prelatical protestants, whom they cannot for their hearts shew so much as to differ from them in the one half of them; and that they are more inclined to trust the promises of the papists, though inconsistent to their principles, than those of the others, though very consistent with the principles of at least their religion. These three reasons will well support all I have founded upon them, if they themselves be well founded. I think they are; and am now to make it out.

That many protestants in Britain are earnest for

repealing the tests and penal laws needs no proof; it is notour. The question comes then to this: if that method now on foot be not a deep one for carrying on the popish plot, and if the opinion of such protestants, who consider it as a kindness done to them, flowing from kindness in those who use it, be not a great and very dangerous error and mistake.

As to the first part of the question, the affirmative is confirmed, if it be made appear, that this method is the easiest, safest, and certainest to bring the plot to its accomplishment. I hope I may spare my pains of rehearsing the many unquestionable proofs, that the ultimate design of the plot is the subversion of the reformed religion, and the altering the government to a suitableness to the popish way. No British protestant can justly deny it; yea papists, who have any ingenuity left, will not deny a design of setting popery uppermost, and of changing the government, in so far as to support popery when set up, though they now pretend to do it by fair means, and to tolerate the protestants. But whether their design be the more cruel or the more moderate, it is enough for this argument to make it out, that the mentioned method is the easiest, safest, and certainest way to finish the worst design, in case they have it.

Many methods have been already tried, and, by the mercy of God, have been frustrated. I do not discern any left but this same, and that of open force. It will easily be granted to me that the latter

way is, at the present, neither easy, safe, nor certain; yea, papists and addressing dissenters say, it is not practicable; though (as will appear by what follows) when the first way has made some progress, and the other is brought to second it, it is like to become more easy, less dangerous, and very certain. But that the former is the easier, safer, and certainer at present will be discerned, and I think granted, by those who shall consider, 1st. in whose hand the strength and balance of the British nation is at present; or which are the greater party, the truly pious and serious in religion, or the lax, indifferent, and careless; it must be granted the last are; 2nd. whether of the two religions, suppose all pains be taken, is most likely to engage such people to join in with it in public profession; — that which presents the favor of the rulers, offices, wealth, and ease, with a great licence in morals, or that which presents danger, harassing, prisons, and death, perhaps by faggot at a stake, with strict discipline as to morals. It must be granted the first. Now there is nothing stands in the way of this but the laws against papists, which make it so dangerous to turn to that idolatry. They being once removed, both religions are free to set out and propose encouragements and baits to allure the people. If the first carry the multitude, as it is most likely to do, open force can be no longer called impracticable, but must be granted to be then a very certain way, and neither of extraordinary

difficulty nor danger. But there seems then no need of plain force. The magistrates and officers all papists, and the greater, the equal, or near the equal part of the people can make laws for their purpose; and what then may be done by law is not any more by force; *quod jure fit, non dicendum est injuriâ factum.* What is pleaded, that when the laws against papists are repealed, there shall, *simul et semel*, a security be settled for protestants, so and so, is of no weight, so long as this ground stands firm, that the magistrate and people can legally do nothing but what magistrate and people can afterwards legally undo; for their power and authority is ever alike, if King and parliament be still King and parliament. The matter then stands as it did, for all that. So I conclude, that this method on foot is a deep one for carrying on the plot.

As to the second part of the question, whether or not those of the protestants, who consider the repealing of those laws as a kindness done to them, flowing from kindness in the papists, be in a great and dangerous error, I offer this for the affirmative.

By this kindness their greatest enemies under the Devil, who neither had, nor have, nor, in all probability, can without it ever have the power greatly to hurt them, are put in a full capacity to accomplish their destruction. Hence we may judge of King James, from whom this flows, his kindness to the protestants in all this matter, that it is such

as must forward their ruin, not kindness tending to their welfare; such clashes with his religion, with his politic, and with all the former actions of his life. I have not leisure to rehearse the arguments whereby this fancy of popish tenderness stands refuted by many: this may satisfy for the point in hand. If the King be sincere, he can procure ease enough to those of whatever persuasion while he lives, without this method; and when he comes to die, it is juster and safer for the whole pack that the papists, who have never yet universally been used with great severity for all their wicked plottings, be somewhat in the reverence of the protestants, whose religion allows not the bloody doctrine of extirpating, than they in theirs, who maintain such inhuman principles as propagating their antichristian doctrine by those antichristian means.

I come to the second reason, the subject whereof is a very sad one. Mistake may be pleaded in excuse for the error of these men in their judging of the method spoken to; *humanum est labi;* but it seems to be deliberate choice, that the Prince of Orange and his actions are ill-treated, and so groundlessly calumniated by them. By their doctrine, the King of England, bred up in popery, zealous in it to the greatest degree, the prime contriver and carrier on of that damnable plot, while Duke of York, who sucked in hatred, chiefly against presbyterians, with his milk, who has given proof enough that, next to

that of popery, the principle of arbitrariness is an inmate to him, he must be considered as one of a tender conscience (though the course of his morals give it the lie), and that in reference to nonconformists. His method of repealing the laws and tests, for bringing papists in power, and for smoothing the way, that the irreligious and indifferent—the far greater part of the people, especially of the first ranks (this is a sad truth)—may safely join in with popery; the laws being disabled, that make it so dangerous while they stand, which once done, future danger in a legal way is over; and the flowers of court favor, honors, and wealth, may be gathered from downy bushes freed from the prickles; this method, I say, must be considered as flowing from kind respects to nonconformists. The arbitrary way used in declarations, in the highest terms, upon the highest points, must not be imputed to his arbitrary temper or principles, but to necessity, because of the backwardness of parliaments, which cross the tender conscience and compassionate disposition of a mild and merciful prince, so that he is forced upon extraordinary remedies. Upon the other hand, by their doctrine the Prince of Orange[1], grandchild of [the] great Prince William[2] murdered by the papists at Delft,

[1] This character of King William, then Prince of Orange, is given in an extract from this letter in the Appendix to 'Rose on Fox.'

[2] Of Orange.

and of the great Admiral[1] of France murdered in the massacre of Paris, the two great combaters for the protestants; one for doctrine bred a Calvinist; for religious practice, who excels most men so high in quality, and is equal to the most part of whatever rank of the serious and sincere in that communion; he being, for virtue and good morals, beyond many; those human infirmities natural to poor mankind, and consistent with seriousness in religion, breaking as little out, either for degree or frequency, from him as from most part of good men, and not one being habitual to him; one of a mild and courteous temper; of a plain, ingenuous, and honest nature; of a humane, gay, and affable carriage, without any token of pride or disdain; one educated and brought up in a republic as free as any in the world, and inured to the freedom allowed by it and possessed in it; (his greatest enemy, if he know him, or my greatest enemy, if he read this, must find his own conscience witnessing to his face, that what I have said is truth as to the Prince, and that I am one of more worth than to sully my argument with a flaunting hyperbole even in favour of a Prince;)—he, I say, must be considered as one that is no stedfast enemy to popery and indifferent in point of religion; as one who would endeavour to force a conformity to the prelatical way; as one inclined to arbitrary power; yea, as one (a base insi-

[1] De Coligny.

nuation and ingrate) who only pretends to religion and moderation to get on the saddle by. His method for supporting Christianity in Britain, and consequently in the whole world, and for preserving the legal frame of the government there, by refusing, when it was put home to him, to agree to the repealing of the test and penal laws, which are the only bar in the papists' way, must be considered as flowing from particular disgust against the King of England, and from unkindness to the Nonconformists, and not from regard to those grand interests. And the pensionary Fagel's letter on that behalf, expressing the Prince and Princess's thoughts, is chimerically handled by some, to force out, if possible, something of bad relish to this, that, or the other class of Christians (alas! that they are not all of one, at least against Anti-Christians and their fourberies[1]), and that to the prejudice and reproach of a kind, honest, innocent, and daring prince, who puts himself in the gap, with a magnanimous disdain of hazard to himself, to stop the course of their destruction. O unparalleled and regrateable ingratitude! May almighty God open the eyes of these men, who know not what they do, whither they go! turn them right, before they find themselves in the midst of Rome, and forgive them. But if they hate to be reformed, then defeat their counsels and forgeries, and cause them evanish as smoke before the wind!

[1] French.

Now, to shew you how far their Highnesses are wronged by these mistakers, (thanks to God, they make but a small part of the number of dissenters in the kingdoms) I shall go on their Highnesses' part of the business. You have heard, how they were put to it by Mr. Stewart's letters, written with the King's privacy to the pensionary Fagel, once and again to give their thoughts concerning the repeal of the penal laws and test standing in England ('tis no matter to me how these letters are denied or minced now, being that I know the truth of them). They gave their answer by the pensionary's letter, which you have seen, and which their Highnesses own, and well they may, as theirs. These mistakers whom, in regard of the use they make of this letter I must give a new name to, as they deserve—calling them calumniators—do squeeze and nibble it with great pains to force from it what may disgust the dissenters, as I have hinted before: *ingentem vero laudem*, a good service done to the interest of Christianity.

I shall not here give you the detail of their glosses and objections to the letter, but present to you some observations upon it, which are very natural, not forced like to theirs, and meet with some of their insinuations and started scruples, as they come in my way; yet, before I enter upon it, I must desire you to observe with due consideration, and to remember the following notes.

1 Note. That neither of their Highnesses were

educated in the Church of Scotland, nor were ever under the personal, explicit, and formal obligations of the Covenants of that Church. The Prince was brought up in the Church of the provinces, differing in several formalities from that of Scotland; the Princess in the prelatical Church of England, differing far more from that of Scotland.

2 Note. That—differences, smaller or greater, notwithstanding—all three are protestant Churches; and there have been, and are, as in Scotland, so in both the other, pious, zealous, and stedfast protestants. Examples are so innumerable as makes it scarce pertinent to give any; yet we will call to mind that King Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth were of the Church of England; Prince William of Orange aforementioned and his successors were of the Church of the Netherlands;—all these irreconcileable to popery.

3 Note. That the Prince and Princess of Orange were solicited and urged, in letters written to the Pensionary Fagel by the King of England's knowledge and allowance, to express their thoughts concerning the repeal of the penal laws and test, before they, by the Pensionary's answer, did. Neither was that answer, which was first turned from the Latin original and printed in English at London, made public, till they who published it were forced to it by a report industriously carried about in city and country after the answer came to the King's hand, that their Highnesses had given their consent to repealing the laws and test.

4 Note. That the Prince being as a high magistrate of the potent republic of the Netherlands not only greatly concerned in it, but also in their many and mighty allies, was in good reason obliged to have due regard to all those in his way of answering the question put to him by the letter sent to the Pensionary.

5 Note. The question proposed to their Highnesses being upon the great interest of Britain and Ireland, where there are different people and different principles of conscience not a few, they, by the blessing of God, having the true spirit of government in them, a disposition to heal and save, not to destroy, had all the reason in the world to answer accordingly, that the poor disjointed people in those kingdoms, who will make a conjecture from that letter now happily dispersed among them,—such as a sore wounded man doth from a direction sent him by the chirurgeon till he can himself come, whether he is like to prove a diligent and compassionate artist, with a gentle hand to probe and panse[1] his wounds, carefully apply remedies and wait their effects, or a rash, hasty, impatient one, that talks of amputation before he sees his patient, which is never to be practised but where the life's preservation doth indispensably require it[2], [may learn] what they may hope for and expect from their Highnesses, if God shall bring them to the throne.

[1] French.

[2] Some words are evidently omitted here; the insertion here made will complete the sense.

The various treatment this answer has received from papists, and those few dissenters, who are galled by it, is very observable. By some it is denied that any invitation or ground was given for writing it; others grant there was, but allege that their Highnesses did not see nor approve the paper, but that the Pensionary gave it of himself; both alike calumnious, which hath since obliged him to publish two letters more, one to the King of England's envoy at the Hague, the other to every reader, whereby all may be yet more fully convinced of the shameful falsehood of both allegations. Some others set themselves to write against it, to misconstruct the sense of what is assertatory, and to refute the force of what is argumentative in it, but with very bad success, as is evident; and indeed it is no wonder.

One of these writers, Mr. Stewart's friend, in answer to the Pensionary's letter, dogmatically affirms, that in it dissenters are by that name set in a class, contradistinct from protestants, by which is only meant the Church of England, the papists making the third class. Now at this rate whatever is said of protestants or reformed through the letter doth not at all concern the dissenters, but is to be understood only of the Church of England, *qua* excluding all dissenters. This is a trick of very bad design, for which there is no ground at all given in the writing, unless it be taken from a French translation altogether unknown to the Pensionary, who wrote in Latin, wherein in one place

(viz. p. 3 of the English copy at the end) the words *religionem reformatam* are rendered *la religion Anglicane*, as the author of the reflections on this friend's letter observes, which mistake mars the sense of that section. Whereas, all along the Pensionary's letter, protestant or reformed, as including dissenters of every sort, is set as contrary to papists or roman catholics, but is never set as opposite to dissenters, nor the term dissenter as opposite to, or distinct from, protestant. This friend of Mr. Stewart's should [have] foreborn writing till he had seen the original Latin, or else should have discerned *Anglicane* to be either used amiss, or to signifie *protestante;* for that he ought to know that *la religion Anglicane* as including its liturgy and ceremonies, &c., whereby only it is distinguished from dissenters, and not by the name of protestant or reformed, common to them both in regard of papist, was never by law established in Scotland, as was indeed that protestant religion mentioned in that section of the letter, and should not have presumed to charge their Highnesses with so unchristian a distinction, or gone about to persuade any protestant, that ever they made it.

But now I come to the observations on the Pensionary's letter, in which, if the words which I cite differ any thing from those of the English version printed at London, they are, assure yourself, more close to the Latin original.

The first thing I desire you to observe is, the terms wherein their Highnesses' opinion in the ge-

neral is delivered: page 1st. 'that no Christian is 'to be persecuted, or afflicted by heavy troubles, on 'the account only that he differs from the public 'and predominant religion.' Will any but papists turn this sentence into another, either contrary or contradictory to this, and own it so put? I shall affirm one thing of their Highnesses, and that upon good grounds: I think, you know I will not lie in the matter, or labor to deceive those I would inform. The Prince is protestant presbyterian bred and professed, the Princess protestant episcopal; yet both are, in their principles, of spirit no larger than what becomes protestants, otherwise they would be the worse Princes; no narrower than what becomes good Princes, otherwise in their stations they would be the worse protestants. But to proceed; mark what follows in that first section of the 2d page: 'There- 'fore, &c.[1] *Their Highnesses can consent that the 'first be permitted to profess their religion with as 'much liberty as is allowed in any of these provinces.*' This cannot be extended farther than to such as have the interest of nativity, which I acknowledge is a very tender, endearing, and considerable one, as well says the poet,—

> Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine captos
> Attrahit,—

to which strangers have no claim. This grant do these carpers, in their papers which appear on this side the sea, assert is as good as nothing; and they endeavor to prove, by instances of all

[1] The persons spoken of are the Papists, the Dissenters in England, &c.

the provinces, that what papists have deserves not the name of liberty; yet do they whisper in dissenters' ears on the other side, that their Highnesses in this do condescend too far in favor of papists. Candid dealing truly: whereas all their Highnesses say is what they can do, when the matter were brought to the point of their consent. Now mark the change, in reference to dissenters, of the style, and the warmth of affection that breatheth through it. *They do not only consent, but do heartily approve of their having an entire liberty for the full exercise of their religion, without any trouble or hinderance, so that none may be able to give them the least disturbance upon that account.* Every word drops with weight, and has an emphasis in it: what is here said imports a very declaration, what upon the one hand their Highnesses can be brought to, but on the other hand what they heartily incline to.

Next observe what close provisos, and how needful for the protestant cause, *rebus sic stantibus*, are reserved, before they will give concurrence to repealing the penal laws, page 2, sect. 3; and what sorts of penal laws, with the test, they would support, for securing the protestant religion, page 2, s. 4; whereas it is objected, that the test, excluding papists from parliament, excludes also protestant dissenters. It is answered, many are free and willing to swear it; but for such, as are not, albeit their number were greater than it is, I say, the legal fence is a citadel or castle; the protestants are in

possession of it; danger is justly feared from the great enemy, papists; whereupon some of the best protestants, to wit, some dissenters, unluckily without, come [in] the dark of the night (as dark as Anti-Christian darkness and deep-laid plots can make it) to the gates; [and] call to have the portcullis taken up, bridge let fall, gates opened, that they may enter. 'Content,' say these within, 'but are you alone? 'or what company have you?' 'Tis answered, 'The 'enemy papists are among us:' 'How many?' 'Tis 'so dark we cannot discern.' Then say the other, 'We cannot open till the papists be separated from 'you, and till it be clear day, that others, your and 'our enemies, can be discerned. Besides we know 'not, nor can perceive in this darkness, what secret 'friends the papists may have among us here within, 'who might join them, if they be suffered to enter, 'and ruin both you and us; so continue as you 'are; and whether the blame is yours or ours, or 'betwixt us, that you are now shut out, we regret 'our part of it, and shall receive you, [as] soon as 'ever they are separated from you. In the mean time, 'if they attempt any thing against you violently,— 'they pretend they will not,—we will choose of our 'best force, and sally out to defend you.' Let the unbiassed now judge the case, for thus it stands.

You have, no doubt, the Pensionary's letter; the strain of it is uniform: I need not insist on every thing of notable weight in it, only I will invite you to notice the beginning of 2 s. 3 p., the beginning

of p. 4, and to consider the zeal for religion, the kindness and concern for the professors of it, the bold and undaunted magnanimity in reference to both manifested in the expression used p. 5, sect. 2, toward the end. If they who, in the time of the greatest danger, that we most need it, do avouch us and our interest in giving so bold a defiance to our enemies, as may well convince us that they are more concerned for the public good than for their own safety, if they who, upon our account, do lay themselves obnoxious to the malice and spite of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet, and of all their locusts and scarlet train (but, it is like, God has opened their eyes, as those of Elisha's, his servant, at Dothan, to see that more and mightier are for them than against them, for who ever weighs well the matter will find, there is more than man in it, and that it is of God, who can, and it is hoped will, preserve them); if they, I say, do from us protestants, or any of us, meet unkindness, jealousing, or carping, much more with detraction and calumny, it is an ingratitude so base, vile, and ignominious, as words foul enough are not to be found in the languages I know sufficient to express its epithet. Note also carefully the 3 sect. of page 6; observe likewise the sufficiency of the reason given why papists have access to military employs in the United Provinces, that being also well limited and under a considerable check, which cannot be granted to those in Britain, 3 sect.

7 page. Observe also the end of 1 sect. p. 8, and mark the beginnings of 1 and 2 sect. p. 8, and judge, whether what you find there, joining thereto the carriage of their Highnesses all along, may not be sufficient to hinder any ingenuous man to charge them, or one of them, with particular disgust against the King, or to impute any of their actions or appearances to that, since they have given such evidences of their dutifulness.

Now I protest to you, all that I am master of, of snarling and capricious humour, serves me not to strain, from any thing I have passed upon in the letter, the least foundation for any of those things afore hinted at, which these carpers whisper against the Prince; I suspect that, to their shame, nature affords none, that they choose this sad one, *Calumniare audacter, aliquid adhærebit.*' Their writings again are stuffed with knack and quibble; some ingeniosity in them, little ingenuity, makes one fancy the authors to be persons more ingenious than ingenuous—mercenary men, poetical spirits, who love licence; they should, as did the author of the Hind and Panther, have writ in verse; then the licence they have taken might be less quarrelled at.

Now give me leave to lead you back a little to 1 sect. p. 2, upon which they, who leave no stone unturned to raise a scruple, say, why is the way in the provinces set by the Prince as a standard or pattern? To this, I can assure you, it was of the King of England's setting; who to an eminent man

of the provinces, then at his Majesty's court, said openly a good time ago: 'Now I resolve to follow 'the pattern of your state, and settle an ample liberty 'of conscience here:' this same made it necessary for the Prince to make use of that as an instance and example, which the King called a pattern. But, whether pattern or example of liberty, if it be not sufficiently qualified in 3 sect. p. 3, let the sober judge it. Add to this what may be said from the third premised Note.

Now we come to a warm scent, on which the mouths spend high, 1 and 2 sect. p. 3. Papists will be for ever secured in their persons, estates, and exercise of their religion; and dissenters can look for no more. *Erige aures, Pamphile.* Presbyterian, what sayest thou to this? well, to this let us say, and as to the first branch, papists benefits.

I pray who objects this? to wit, they who are struggling to have these points and much more fixed to them by repealing the test and penal laws. How shameful a thing is this, for these who are endeavouring, with all their might, to open a way for papists' access to offices, magistracies, and highest trusts and dignities, which belong only to the wisest, worthiest, noblest, and best qualified of the protestants, to find fault when that is offered them, which every native may claim, if not every man, it being so qualified, as in sect. 4 just under, by right of humanity. Yet all that their Highnesses say is this, that they can consent to it, vide 1 sect. p. 2;

which amounts to no more than this—if their Highnesses were seated on a throne, the representatives of the Kingdom ([suppose][1] a parliament) having concluded such a bill in favor of papists, and offering it for the royal assent to make it a law, then they can consent. If this of their Highnesses be not a moderate thought, modestly expressed, I know none can be. For all this objection, I guess there are among the objectors that, if the case were changed, yet stated in the manner that I have done this, would not scruple to say, that the magistrate is obliged to consent, or, if he does not, fails of his duty.

As to the last part, I pray consider the words 2 sect. p. 3, 'their Highnesses do believe dissenters 'will be fully satisfied, &c.' If from this a conclusion can be drawn, such as these carpers draw, that dissenters can expect in no time to be admitted to parliaments, or offices of trust, and magistracies, in the government, nor be freed from the penal laws, if not now in this juncture, these pleaders must think very meanly of dissenters, if they judge them capable to be so easily imposed upon by so unconsequential reasonings; or else they must think that they have forgot the thread of the question, or never taken it up right: whichsoever of these it be, I shall state it as it is, that so the force, or rather the weakness, of their reasoning may appear.

The prelatical party, excited to it by popish arts, as no protestant will deny, did turn the edge of the laws

[1] A word is here effaced; the word inserted will supply the deficiency.

made against papists, with certain new ones added, wholly against dissenters, and persecuted them for nonconformity; some prelatical did act probably from secret kindness to popery, but sure not all; till in end, the popish designs becoming more evident, the test was enacted, expressly to keep papists out of the legislative court in England (to this test the question put to their Highnesses, and their answer, do relate). A zealous papist coming to the crown, well discerning the strength of this barrier, first attempts by edicts of a French cut to get over it; but, finding that the terror of standing laws cannot be got so easily banished from the minds of the people, wisely enough concludes it must be removed in a legal way, else it is an insuperable stop. The question is, how to accomplish this. The prelatical church is at ease, in good state, strongly law-buckled, powerful, wealthy, and will not turn papist: the dissenters, of late sore harassed, still in fear, still in danger while such laws stand, these are judged fit for his affair. A pretext of tender conscience is taken up; a bargain is offered: dissenters I will join with you to remove these terrible laws whereby you have been harmed and oppressed; this do for me and my religion; repeal the test whereby roman catholics and you may come in employments. If dissenters answer, we will concur to repeal the laws, the prelatical will not oppose it, but the test we cannot; nor desire we to have more advantage now than what repealing the penal laws

gives us, the test continuing: answer—nay, it is a quality of the King's tenderness of conscience that the test be repealed, else no concourse of his to repeal the laws. The prelatical say, content to remove these laws, but such as directly tend for the support of the protestant religion, and the test which secures the civil government. And thus comes the question to their Highnesses:—will you concur to repeal the laws and test, and settle a liberty of conscience? The answer is given, as in *hoc statu rerum;* we can consent to papists liberty of no farther extent than of conscience in religion. And we do heartily consent to dissenters full liberty and exercise of religion; will concur to the repeal of penal laws; but such as are altogether necessary now for supporting the protestant religion (not a word of prelacy or conformity to it) against papists (not against dissenters, no such syllable); but to the repeal of any laws which the protestant religion has a present support by, or of the test which, *rebus sic stantibus,* is a support of the civil government, no concourse, no consent; and we believe that the dissenters will be fully satisfied, &c. This is no other than, whatever dissenters may justly claim, whatever should of due be granted to them; yet, as matters now stand, we believe they will be fully satisfied of this for the time. How follows it from this that they can never expect more? What! is it said they deserve no more? When the time of judging the merit of interests comes, it will be found

that they deserve as other protestants, and will be solicitous to have their due, will be fully satisfied in no less; their compatriots will deal kindly and justly with them, and make amends for misdeeds. Can it be in the power of any to persuade dissenters that it would then stop at the Prince, a dissenter, or at the Princess, a protestant? I hope, it is not; I know it ought not to be. I am persuaded, that the world will see that their Highnesses reckon not amiss of the dissenters, and that the dissenters have more credit to give to these protestant princes, who shew their honest and kind inclinations, as the time and condition of affairs will bear it, than to any instrument of Rome, of whatsoever quality, and whatever be pretended to allure them.

But is there any deliverer of God's stirring up, that will satisfy these unequal spirits? Must they have the choosing themselves? Sure they have not much commended their abilities and skill to protestants by this, that they would have them rely upon King James and his Jesuits for their relief and establishment, rather than upon the protestant Prince of Orange and his wife, a protestant Princess, from whom, her enemies being judges, good and comfort is justly hoped to all honest interests, and to all persons who have any right to pretend to them.

As to these general insinuations made to the reproach of the Prince, the authors do but assert. If they had given arguments to prove, they might [have] been taken off by answers: but nothing

meets assertion better than assertion. This then I can and do affirm, that these of theirs are grossly false. I know my testimony will go farther than theirs, because I have the greatest witness that I speake not to deceive. I have taken the best ways to know and be informed; I have pregnant ground for what I assert; and I am more unbiassed than they, yea, I dare say, no man less. I depend upon none but God and my country, for whose worthy interests I do now suffer, and which I desire to serve. If I have the soul of a Christian, as much as I now love the Prince of Orange, which I acknowledge is to a great degree, because of the worth that I discern in him, if he should fall from that worth, as I hope in the great God he shall never, I should quickly fall from him, and esteem him no more.

The third reason requires no proof; it is as notour as the first; and for the subject of it, there is enough said in the proposing of it to evince how weakly these men judge of matters.

Now I think I have said what may convince protestants, that the popish plot is still a carrying on, and is advanced to a pitch more dangerous and imminent than ever heretofore; that the repealing of the penal laws, at least such of them as at present tend to the supporting the protestant religion against the papists, and of the test, is a method used by the papists to bring their damnable plot against our religion and liberties to its final accomplishment.

All I shall add is, to wish protestants to see to it, not to be gulled by their enemies, not to misjudge their friends, and to be ever ready to do or to suffer, as God shall call them to it, for their interests of so high moment: *pro Christo et patriâ dulce periculum.* And because I have asserted high things upon the ground of my credit with my endeared country, I will not whisper in the dark, as many of our opposites do, but avow both my argument, and my advice upon it, by setting my name to it.

Sic Sub. PAT^R^. HUME.

15 June, 88.

Diary of the March from Exeter to London[1].

MONDAY 26th November I left Exeter, and marched 15 miles to Honiton; 27 to Axminster; 8 miles thence to Crewkerne.

28th I marched 12 miles to Sherborn, where I staid the 29th. 30th the Prince quartered at Wincaunton: I quartered 5 miles forward, 12 in all, at Mere in Wiltshire.

1st of December the Prince[2] quartered at Hindon 10 miles: I quartered that night and Sunday the 2d at Fonthill Gifford, in Squire Cottington a papist's house.

Monday 3d December the Prince staid, and I marched on 6 miles to Wily; that morning ambassador Sitters of Holland came to the Prince; also an express from the Earl of Feversham, general of King James his army, by his order, desiring a safe conduct for some to be sent, which was granted. Tuesday the 4th the Prince came to Salisbury 9

[1] Sir Edward Seymour was left governor at Exeter, and Major Gibson commandant of the garrison.

Earl of Leven's regiment was left at Topsham, near Exmouth.

[2] Several of King James's horse and dragoons came in to the Prince at Hindon.

Monday 19 November King James came to Salisbury. Tuesday viewing the plains on horseback to choose a camp, he fell in excessive bleeding at the nose, was four times let blood that week and parted toward London on Saturday the 24th.

miles where we quartered; here many of the first rank came in to the Prince.

The Earl of Oxford came in on Tuesday at Salisbury; Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Drumlanrig came in at Sherborn Friday November 30.

The Princess of Denmark escaped from Whitehall in nightgown and slippers and came to the Bishop of London's house; thence to the Earl of Devonshire at Nottingham.

The Earl of Shrewsbury was sent from Sherborn to seize Bristol; but it was given up to the Lord Lovelace for the Prince before he came at it.

The Graev Van Styrum[1] was sent from Sherborn to the fleet at Exmouth to go for Holland.

Friday the 7th the Prince came to Hungerford, and we went to Chilton and quartered in Doctor Parker's.

Upon Wednesday the 5th had a trumpet come from King James his commissioners, shewing that they were upon their way.

On Saturday the 8th the commissioners came to Hungerford, viz. the Marquis Halifax, Earl of Nottingham and Lord Godolphin: the foot guards were drawn up and drums beat as they passed. The Prince called several English nobles to him; then Monsieur Bentinck, Lord Chamberlain, led the commissioners in to the Prince. They had desired to

[1] Count Styrum.

treat with him in private, but he refused, without the English Lords present.

Within a little they were led to another room, and the Earls of Oxford and Clarendon, and Marshal Schomberg were sent by the Prince to hear them; they told that the King had designed to call a parliament; but the Prince his coming with his army had stopped it; but that now finding a great inclination of the people to it, he has resolved to do it; they therefore desired that the Prince would advance with his army no farther, that the parliament may meet in London, whither all the peers, even those joined with the Prince, may freely come upon a general indemnity to be given. It was answered, that the Prince his army being now parted from Salisbury could not stop sooner than Oxford or London: but if the parliament sit free, the King and all his forces must part as far from London on the one side, as the Prince is on the other; that so the parliament, with which only the King is to treat and not with the Prince, may do it freely and safely.

Then the commissioners dined with the Prince, who staid some hours after dinner with them in a great company of nobles and such as there came in to him; then they took leave and left the town. Now the King discharged all papists from civil employments.

Saturday and Sunday the Prince staid at Hungerford: we went to Enkpen in Berkshire. Monday

the Prince went on to Newbery; we to Padworth 14 miles.

Tuesday the Prince went to Abingdon; we to Drayton 17 miles.

Wednesday the Prince went to Wallingford: we to Oxford 6 miles.

Thursday we went to the Prince at Wallingford, and thence with him to Henley, 18 miles.

Friday the Prince came to Windsor; we to Hounslow 20 miles.

Saturday 15th we came into London.

Sunday the King came through the city in coach, his horse guards attending him to Whitehall.

Monday the Prince came to Sion House, and lodged with the Countess of Northumberland.

Tuesday morning the King went under the Prince's guards to Rochester.

About noon the Prince entered Westminster, with great acclamation and tokens of joy among the people, and ringing of bells and bonfires at night: he lodged in St. James's. That day a meeting of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal declared for the Prince.

Wednesday some Bishops and many Lords came to salute the Prince, and to give him welcome.

Patrick Lord Polwarth, High Chancellor of Scotland, to the Lord Murray[1], *one of the Principal Secretaries of State, being then at Court in London.*

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, May 14th, 1696.

My Lord,

I am sure the King would not have been induced to have put me in this post, nor your Lordship concerned to recommend me, but upon a good persuasion of my probity, and hearty disposition to serve the King, and to do good from a single and honest mind. This esteem of me is what gives me high satisfaction; but the effect of that esteem, to wit, the station wherein I now stand, doth fill me with fear that I shall not be able to answer expectation; yet both together excite me to a firm resolution to act as honest and generous a part as any man can do, which, with God's assistance, I will perform. I will set myself with all earnestness to endeavor the reconcilement of parties, and the removal of animosities, and the preventing of heats among those whom the King employs, to bring them to a

[1] Eldest son of the Marquis of Athol. King William appointed him one of his Secretaries of State for Scotland in 1695, created him Earl of Tullibardin in 1696, and made him his High Commissioner to the Parliament in that year. He was Lord Privy Seal of Scotland under Queen Anne, who created him Duke of Athol in 1703. In 1706 he opposed the Union vehemently.

pleasant concurrence in his Majesty's service; and I hope to carry so fairly, and live so well, with the noble persons your Lordship mentions, as shall engage them. I do believe the Duke of Queensberry may by this post intimate to your Lordship his noticing the beginning of it.

The same to Sir James Ogilvie[1]*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, now at Court.*

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, May 14th, 1696.

My Lord,

I got your Lordship's of the 8th current at my house in the country, upon Tuesday last late in the evening, the import whereof was very surprising to me. It is greatly my fear that I have not shoulders for such a weight; but I will endeavour to give proof to his Majesty, to your Lordship, and all honest men, of my honesty, diligence, and moderation. I heartily thank your Lordship for the kind and good advices that you give me; I shall diligently observe them.

[1] He was second son of the Earl of Finlater; Solicitor for the Crown in Scotland in 1693; one of the Secretaries of State in 1696; created Viscount Seafield in 1698, and Earl of Seafield in 1701. In 1702 he succeeded the Earl of Marchmont as High Chancellor; in 1704 he was again made Secretary of State; and again Chancellor in 1705. He was made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland in 1708. He succeeded his father as Earl of Finlater in 1711.

The same to the Earl of Portland[1], *he then in Flanders.*

Edinburgh, May 16th, 1696.

There can be nothing more satisfying to me than that your Lordship continues your favor towards me, which I well discern by your kind letter of 3d April last, and for which I return your Lordship my heartiest thanks.

His Majesty has been pleased to put me in a high post, and your Lordship to recommend me to him for it; sure the King and your Lordship do think that I am fit for the station, and do expect that I will approve myself suitably to the great trust I have. I am sensible that this thought is the greatest favor I can be capable of; but the effect of it is such as makes my fear of not being able to answer expectation drown any satisfaction I can have in being promoted; and I am sure I shall have none, nor anything but watching, pains and travail, till by my services the King doth find, and your Lordship, that I do not disappoint the good opinion of me.

I resolve, God assisting, to heal any differences among the King's servants here, and anticipate new ones, and all heats and animosities, by a prudent, early precaution, and by my plain and clear way of

[1] Bentinck Earl of Portland, head of the English, and of the Dutch and German branch of his noble house, so greatly distinguished by the favor shewn him, and the confidence reposed in him, by King William.

dealing, if it be as possible, as I hope it is. I earnestly beg and hope that your Lordship will give kindly and freely your advice and opinion on matters, for I shall need now frequently to trouble your Lordship with my letters, not judging it proper to trouble much the King, who is under so great a weight of affairs now. I have written to his Majesty what here I have sent your Lordship a copy of, which you will honour me to give to his hand.

I hope before long your Lordship may have satisfying account of my deportment from honorable persons, who will tell the truth; and if I err, I will not shun, but beg my rebuke; for I am well resolved to commit as few errors as I can, or, if I do, to amend them with all diligence.

The same to the King his Majesty in Flanders.

Edinburgh, May 16th, 1696.

Sir,

I have got from your Majesty the greatest mark of a trust in me, and good opinion of me, that can be in the world. I will endeavour with all my might to answer your Majesty's expectation by my performances; but I shall never be able by my services to requite the favourable esteem your Majesty has of me, because you are my Sovereign Lord. I re-

solve, God assisting, never to be in danger of that great punishment the servant deserves, who knows his master's will and does it not; and though I am very jealous of my own weakness, yet I hope to shew so much honest and good inclination and endeavors, as will satisfy your Majesty with how great integrity and zeal I am, and shall be,

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most dutiful subject,
And most faithful humble servant.

The same to Master William Carstairs, King's Chaplain, he in Flanders.

Edinburgh, May 16th, 1696.

Sir,

I got your kind and obliging letter of the 8th current; but lately I have met with a great commentary upon it. I clearly perceive, that your shewing and explaining of that letter, you mention, have been a great motive of my advancement to the high station I am in. I wrote it in plain sincerity, to let you know my mind, and without any other design; but you have made a kind use of it towards me. I pray God that, as I heartily intend, I may answer the King's expectation; and that my noble friend, the Earl of Portland, yourself, or any other who favored my promotion, may never repent their

having so done; I had rather be dead, before they should.

That I will be tender of that interest you recommended you may be assured, as they may be very sensible of your tenderness and care of them by your kind recommendation, which shall be no secret, no more than you made my letter. I have written a short line to the King, and sent the copy of it to the Earl of Portland, to whom I have written more fully. I will write to you when there is any need to trouble you; for I am sensible, that you will watch for my support in my duty. If you have to command me, do it freely, remembering you have to deal with,

Sir,

Your humble servant, and obliged friend.

The same to Master Robert Pringle, Sub-Secretary, he in Flanders.

Edinburgh, May 16th, 1696.

Sir,

Upon Wednesday, the 13th current, my patent of Chancellor passed the Great Seal, and I held council on Thursday, where the new commission was read, and the oaths taken. There was none of the new Counsellors present but the Lord Ruthven. There was little other thing done; and I have now very little time to write; only I must tell you,

I had no expectation of this post. I pray God I may acquit myself in it to the advantage of the King and his people. I find my kind friend, Mr. Carstairs, has said more of me than, I fear, I shall be able to make good; but I will do my utmost endeavor that he and other good men may not repent my promotion, nor be disappointed of their expectations of me. Deliver my letter to him; and when you deliver the Earl of Portland's, give him also mine for the King, that either he may deliver it or employ you to do it, which he pleases, as I have desired him: I have sent him a copy of it. I pray you write to me, and I will be sure to write to you, when there is need, for you must still be upon the watch for me, and I will give you a meeting.

I am, Sir,
Your affectionate cousin,
And humble servant.

The same to Sir James Ogilvie,
&c. &c. &c.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, May 19th, 1696.

I was never given to the resenting of injuries; but I will tell your Lordship truly, there is not alive who I can remember has done me an injury: in that I am a happy man.

The same to Sir James Ogilvie,
&c. &c. &c.

[Extract.]

Polwarth House, May 27th, 1696.

Let me understand what you think may be desired concerning the Trade Act, and I shall give my opinion. All now discernible here is a steady and bent mind in the nation to push it in the practice. I had formerly conversed so much with many upon the matter of a Habeas Corpus Act, that I think I may say, few or none wish to have it, who are esteemed well-affected to this government; and I am indeed of opinion, that it is not a motive to induce this parliament to whatever may be designed. I am not jealous but by mild and discreet conduct this parliament may be persuaded to act frankly enough; but as to extent and measure, I need to hear more from thence, before I can say more. I shall observe your caution carefully.

The same to the Lord Secretary Ogilvie.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, June 6th, 1696.

As to a parliament, if the designs be to provide supplies for paying the troops, providing arms, putting the country in a good posture of defence, furnishing the necessary expence of the government, securing the administration against some events which may happen, and the making the course of the government sweet and comfortable for such, as like to live quietly in obedience to the laws, which protect them, I see no reason to fear but there will be a hearty concurrence. The Act for recruits is, I find, considered as uneasy; but I think the amending some errors discerned in the method will salve that. If there be any other designs, which I do not know, when I am acquainted, I shall feel pulses, and give account. Now I am confirming, all I can, friendships older and later that I may employ the interest I had, or gain, in the service of our King, our country, and all that love them, as occasion shall require.

The same to the Lord Secretary Murray, &c. &c. &c. at Whitehall.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, July 7th, 1696.

As to the parliament, the choice of the Commissioner[1] will, I am confident, please all men who are friends to the government, and not too fond of making parties. I am positive in my opinion, that, as Secretary Ogilvie has explained the King's designs to me, it is fit that it meet soon, and dispatch business in such time, as that the managers may first give the account what is done to the King at his return to England. I am persuaded, their procedure will be so frank, as that it may be of good use to be before the meeting of the parliament of England, and such as shall shew it a thing indifferent, whether the King is in England or abroad the time of their session.

[1] The Earl of Tullibardin.

The same to the Lord Murray,
&c. &c. &c.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, July 14th, 1696.

If ever there was an advantage to the King and the government likely to follow by the Scots parliament meeting before the English, it will be so now.

The same to the Lord Murray,
&c. &c. &c.

Edinburgh, July 23d, 1696.

My Lord,

Having discoursed fully with Secretary Ogilvie upon some things relating to the parliament, whereof he tells me he will write fully, I shall in short tell your Lordship what we are guessing at here, which may perhaps occasion some difference in the House, with my opinion, which your Lordship will consider. We have ground to think, that some of our statesmen will push an Act for an Association[1], with

[1] The Association signed by the Lords, Commons, and great majority of the English nation, on the discovery of the plot to assassinate King William,

some weighty pulsatory in it. The thing probably may relish well in our well-affected parliament, having at first view a plausible appearance, and the English parliament having acted as they have in that matter. As to this, I am of the same opinion as I was when we parted—that what England did of that sort cannot be a determinating argument with us, unless this nation were in the like case and circumstances that England is; the contrary whereof is so well known to all, who well understand the case of Scotland and of England, that it is plain, however useful a method it may be for England, it is not so for us. I am persuaded, it should not be much to our credit and advantage to force a trial of this kind among the proprietors. Of landlords of Scotland our strength lies in the well-affected, in conjunction with the authority of King and parliament, which, with the lodging of the administration and executive power in honest, well-affected hands, is, and will be sufficient to keep us in a good and secure condition; and I am satisfied, we shall not be a bit the stronger by an association; yet I apprehend, if once it come to be motioned in parliament, it may be taking, because of the very name; yet, withal, I think that a motion of a method more substantial, and of evident signification to the nation's

in 1696, and enforced by law. It was a declaration of the King's right to the crown, an engagement to defend his person and government against the late King James and his adherents, to avenge him should he be murdered, and to maintain the succession to the crown, as settled at the Revolution.

security, may readily come to be preferred to the other. It is that, whereof I discoursed to your Lordship at parting, and which, I then told you, I had prepared, and put in form to have been offered to the last parliament, which was not done, because we had not time to know the King's mind about it. Now your Lordship having time may do well, if you are of the same opinion as Secretary Ogilvie and I are, to propose it to his Majesty as our joint advice, and as a thing not only useful, but indeed indispensably necessary for the safety of this kingdom. It is, that an Act be passed, declaring and ordaining, that in case it should please God the King comes to die, the officers of state, and others of trust, civil or military, nor the commissioners of Council, Treasury, Exchequer, and others, shall not vacate, but stand in force, till the successor to the crown should make new nominations, and grant new commissions; that the Privy Council should be empowered to authorize commissioners for taking the coronation-oath appointed by law of the successor; and that being done and reported, the council to be empowered to proclaim the sovereign. Another Act to be, that all persons in public office and trust, all members of parliament, and electors of members, and others mentioned in the present Statutes, be obliged to take the oath of allegiance and assurance, as they now are, *mutato nomine*.

There is no inconvenience which I can discern by this, as to anything that can happen during the life

of the King; but in the premised case, which I pray God I may never see, it seems to me highly requisite. As for that part of the association, which obliges to the avenging the King's death, if it should happen by the hands of his enemies, &c., it would do better that the parliament take it as representing the nation, than to give it its hazard in going through the people. I write my opinion freely, because I am free from all bad intention, and, I hope, above all suspicion. I thought it not fit to delay the presenting my thoughts to your Lordship, although perhaps I will need soon to send a flying packet. I shall add no more, but pray God to guide you.

I remain yours

In all true friendship.

The same to Mr. Carstairs, &c. &c. &c.
in the Camp in Flanders.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Aug. 4th, 1696.

All that I meet with yet gives me to hope, that matters will go smoothly and heartily in next session; yea, that our actings and manner shall be inviting and encouraging to the English parliament. This is my great design and desire[1].

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Nov. 28th, 1696.

Your Lordship knows Kepaugh's[2] circumstances to be such, that makes it very unfit for me to be upon a submission where he is a party: I doubt the

[1] The Parliament met on the 8th September; and Lord Polwarth, in a letter to the Earl of Portland of the 12th of that month referring him to the High Commissioner, and to Lord Secretary Ogilvie for accounts of its proceedings, states, that it had approved two reports of its Committee of Security:— that a sufficient supply should be granted to maintain the standing forces, repairing fortresses, and for the purchase of arms and ammunition; and that 1,440,000*l.* should be granted for these purposes, and for paying frigates and cruisers.

[2] Keppoch, head of one of the great clans of the Macdonalds.

council will not think it honourable for them to appoint any, he being an outlaw, in resisting of the law. The cause requires to be managed with more private hands, and in a more private way. I have no relation in the world to M'Kintosh, but that he is a Scotsman; nor interest in him, or for him, but because he is oppressed. I favour him indeed, because he has favoured the government; and I have no favour for Kepaugh, because he has opposed it, and the friends of it; and if the two were changed in circumstances, my favor would objects. The council have delayed to grant to M'Kintosh the ultimate remedy, which the law allows, for repossessing him, because of the present public circumstances, but granted commission to Colonel Hill to take Kepaugh dead or alive. Earls Argyle and Morton did earnestly oppose it, on reasons which had little weight with the board or with me. Upon your Lordship's letter I have taken it up, and shall keep it till I hear from you. Meanwhile, the poor oppressed gentleman lies under his burthen, and his oppressor laughs at the laws, and, for aught I see, is a little terrible to the council. Kepaugh, by submitting to the law's civil sentence, comes at ease, and I believe in a fair way to have criminal ones mitigated.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin and Secretary Ogilvie.

[Extract.]

Dec. 29th, 1696.

I told the council, that I had an account from Colonel Hill, governor of Fort-William, that, in obedience to the order sent to him, he had made Lochiel[1] elder prisoner in that garrison, and the Laird of Glengarie[2] in the garrison of Innergarie. The Lord Yester[3] asked what the Colonel had done upon the order of council for taking Coll M'Donald of Kepaugh, a person as loose and ill-inclined as any in the Highlands. I said, that order being at the instance of a private person, I had kept it up, lest Coll, indeed a very loose person, might gather others such to him, and disturb the Highlands; for I doubted that, if I had suffered the order to go out, after I had the news of the great preparations in France, and the suspicion of an invasion, I might perhaps have been blamed by the government; but now, if their Lordships thought it fit to give an order about him, they might do as they would. I likewise read a paragraph of Colonel Hill's letter to

[1] Of Cameron.

[2] One of the great clans of the Macdonalds.

[3] Eldest son of the Marquis of Tweeddale, whom he succeeded in 1697, a member of the Privy Council in Scotland.

me, who, having heard of the former order, says in his of the 22nd current, that Kepaugh and the Brae men of Lochahaber have put off all their goods from M'Kintosh his land; then he adds, 'But I suspect, if 'they be hard pushed to it, being out of the land, 'they may turn loose; and then all the loose men in 'the Highlands will join them.' The Earl of Annandale and others did press fervently, that an order of the board should be sent to Colonel Hill to apprehend Coll dead or alive; and that a proclamation should be issued, putting the price of two thousand merks upon his head to whosoever would bring him in. This, after some reasoning upon it, was carried by the vote almost unanimously.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Jan. 5th, 1697.

My Lord,

Seeing, whatever it can signify, I have fixed my friendship upon you, with preference to all who are or can be employed in the state, and have resolved to have no friends but whom I can make yours, for the obliging reason, which you very well know, I must use such a freedom with your Lordship as is requisite for such a friendship, and that in great confidence of a meeting from you. Your Lordship may know, that I

want not worthy friends here, men of sense, honor, and discretion, who love me, and watch for me, who meet with and hear things which I cannot, though, in my conversing, some drop words that one may think of. These things do move me to trouble your Lordship with this way of writing, which I can do to none but yourself.

Is it possible that your Lordship is jealous that I have engaged too deep in friendship with any of those, with whom you were at so much pains to set me in friendship?

Can it be that one of the secretaries, I cannot learn which, if not both, is turned so much my enemy, as I may think of leaving my post soon?

Can it be that matters are quickly tending to a breach betwixt you two? God forbid!

Can it be that one of you, I cannot learn which, was much offended at my going to Session that afternoon the business betwixt my Lady Rothes and my Lord Melville was determined? I did go there, and did preside in the debate, not allowing Fountainhall[1], then president, to mingle. It did tend to my commendation. I kept the lawyers close to points, and put all questions to them fit for clearing the matter to the Lords, with that equality and indifferency, that none, as I have heard from many then present, could guess of what opinion I was in it; and it came not to my vote; but if it had, I was very clear, as I am never *non liquet*.

[1] Sir John Lauder, a Lord of Session.

You know your own mind in all these things. I pray you try Sir Ja., to whom I write not in this strain.

Be pleased to treat me freely; I care incredibly little to lose my place; but my fidelity I shall never lose; it shall never carry a stain.

Whatever changes happen, I will go with you, knowing you will never go off King William's interest, to which I will ever cleave.

I perceive difficulty will increase upon me; it is impossible to please all in the state here: I am afraid that, in endeavouring to do it, I come in end to please none of the siding, party-disposed men; and the otherwise disposed are very few.

If the course of ingenuity, truth, and honor, be sufficient for it, then I may red[1] my feet and stand; if not, then I may stumble and perhaps fall; however, I cannot apply to study another politic.

I am, &c.

[1] Saxon.

The same to Secretary Ogilvie.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Jan. 14th, 1697.

Since it is his Majesty's opinion and pleasure, I shall keep up the order concerning Kepaugh. There is a former, which was procured by M'Kintosh at his own instance, of the nature of the other, which I did keep up till now, and, it seems, I must do so still, at least till I hear from you about it, though M'Kintosh is importuning me for it in the mean time. It is strange to me, that a subject can be suffered to possess another man's inheritance, whether he will or not, by plain violence; and it is as strange, if such a possessor's offer, to pay what he is able for bygones, and to find caution of the future rent, is thought reasonable to oblige the proprietor to let his lands to him, whether he wishes or not, if the business be set in its true light, and so considered. I wish I may once see this kingdom in a condition, that the opposers of the law may not be able to oblige the dispensers thereof to any niceness in the administration.

The same to Secretary Ogilvie.

[Extract.]

Saturday, Jan. 23d, 1697.

Now upon the subject of your's of the 15th I can take my oath upon it. I never entertained a thought jealous of your favour and friendship to me, neither before the malicious discourses of breaking and variance were set about here, nor since. You know, I have good reason to be persuaded of the sincerity of your friendship, and that I do know it by signal proofs. You know, that I am not a false person, and that from my youth I have adhered to my pretensions as close as any, and often to my peril.

Before they who came from London arrived here, there were no such surmises; quickly after they were vented here, but I suppose broached there. If there was any ground, you there are abler to judge.

The surmises were, and are, that the Secretaries were at the point of discording; one of them, if not both, weary of my being Chancellor, jealous of my having set up a close friendship with Queensberry and Argyle, much to the prejudice of the Secretaries; that my carriage in the lawsuit betwixt the

President of Council[1] and the Countess of Rothes had given great offence there. Of late, it is said, that one main ground of difference betwixt the Secretaries is about my Lord Whitelaw. It would weary one to write or read all our stories; but the true defence against them, which I would choose, is, to expose to every friend what relates to him. I promise you, upon my honor, I will deal thus by you; and if you will use me so, the design of our ill-wishers will be easily defeated. We three were once reckoned on as able to heal the divisions in being, and to prevent future factions. I hope, as we had some success in the first part, we need not despair of the last. I assure you sincerely, I will assist you in it all I can. I wish heartily to see no other in your posts; and you shall never see in mine one of a plainer, honester deportment, or one more disposed to value your opinion and advice. One frequent discourse here is, that I was promoted to serve a turn only, but that Annandale will quickly be in my room, if the King and you so think. I have served dutifully.

1 The Earl of Melville.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Saturday, Jan. 30th, 1697.

You tell me in one of the 16th, that you have spoke with Sir James concerning me. I never had the least jealousy of his friendship, as I have given him assurance. There are some who have no kind designs towards us, who, I am sure, shall have no encouragement from me; by their means certainly it is that this town has of late been full of lies. I mentioned some of them before, and I hate to repeat them. There is no better defence against such things than that plain, free dealing which you assure me of, and which I shall certainly use with your Lordship. I confess, I study to carry so as that none may think that I am proud of my character; and I am very loth to disoblige that way; yet I like not to be put upon too rudely. I have been so accustomed to difficulties in the course of my life, that it is not easy to discourage me. I am of a healthful body, and, I hope, a constancy of mind stronger than all the difficulties ever I can meet with. I hope I shall never do an ill thing by choice, nor depart from the interest of our King and country; nor fail my friend that trusts to me, come in the world what can. Do not think that I speak

vainly, when I tell you, that I believe I am above the influence of all the smiles and frowns of Fortune, as to that of being diverted from the course of virtue and honor.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Tuesday, March 2d, 1697.

I have written more fully to Secretary Ogilvie, than I have time to do to your Lordship, what, I suppose, he will show you. The complaints I meant of were not of little particulars concerning me;—I can command myself to carry such things without complaining,—but of more public nature, relating to an humour, which, I am afraid, is bred in the bone of most Scotsmen, even a disposition rather to scatter and divide, cost what it will, than to concur and join together[1].

[1] Imputed only in this case 'Iliacos intrà muros.'

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Thursday, March 4th, 1697.

As the last year[1] had been one of the worst and most unfruitful that had been seen by any now living, so it had a very bad influence upon every fund of the revenue and public payments. The cess came never worse in; and the excise so ill, as that it has failed far beyond expectation. None have more reason to be sensible of this than the Lords of the Treasury. I am sure, since I came there, we have had difficulty upon difficulty betwixt the commissaries and the tacksmen, to get the troops kept from disorder, which we have been more difficulted to do than I could have imagined; yet in truth I cannot much blame neither commissaries or tacksmen, because of the failing of the funds, by reason of a defect in the subject.

[1] The harvest of the preceding year had also been very deficient.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin and Secretary Ogilvie.

[Extract.]

March 11th, 1697.

Captain Burd with the Royal William is commanded out to cruise, because we hear of several small privateers about the coast. He has got with his sailing orders several articles of instruction, which are chosen out of the printed instructions, which used to be given to his Majesty's ships in England. The copy of the fifteenth article is here inclosed, which your Lordship may consider, and acquaint the King of it, as you think fit. It is necessary also to acquaint his Majesty, that the captain of the Nonsuch told Captain Burd, that he had orders from the Lords of the Admiralty of England to force the Scots frigates to strike, when they meet with them. The Admiralty here can hardly believe it; yet Burd says, that some of them *shot sharp*[1] at him, as he came down the river. The Lords of the Admiralty desire, lest any mischief should happen, that your Lordship would timeously speak to the King of this; and they doubt but his Majesty will own his Scots frigates as well as his English, and appoint only such salutation, as passes

[1] With ball: a Germanism.

among the English, one to another, and will not admit his flag of the kingdom of Scotland to do homage to any, seeing they have a like interest in his Majesty.

The same to James Johnston[1].

Tuesday, March 15th, 1697.

My Lord,

I have longed much to hear from you, and yet more to open my mind to you, of whose friendship I have had so good experience abroad and at home. I know my freedom with your Lordship will never be used to my prejudice; so I can heartily lodge myself with you. I inclose this, and one to your sister, in one to my son, and doubt not its coming safe. I had some hope of seeing you, which I wished; for I thought, the King, having intrusted me in this post, might probably call me to acquaint me with his pleasure, and to hear things of me; but, it seems, time doth not allow that now. When I came to my office, both secretaries told me, that the King did much desire concord among his statesmen and servants, and did expect, that I could and would be very instrumental to have it so. Both of them,

[1] He appears to have been Secretary of State in 1690, and Lord Clerk Register in 1704.

especially my Lord Tullibardin, pressed me earnestly while here, and at our parting, to set up and keep a perfect understanding with Queensberry, Argyle, Melville, and his sons, and others of a piece with them; so earnest they were, as if they had doubted my not compliance, till I gave them assurance. They and I reckoned, that such of us here, as were at one before, would need no pains to keep us so, and were beyond the danger of cooling towards one another, or of falling in jealousy. When the secretaries were gone, I plied the course agreed upon with all the discretion, equality, and gentleness, that I could; but I had not long tried it, when I perceived that, as I had suspected, and told both secretaries my conjectures beforehand, what I gained, or seemed to gain, upon the one side, I lost as much upon the other. This obliged me to be as circumspect as I could, and to use as much art, as I thought was consistent with honesty, to oblige all, and to engage them to a concurrence and easiness in business. All the effect was, that one week, or not so long together, the one side was offended at me, and another week the other; thus I plainly get the reddor's[1] strokes. We are now in different sides here, as much as ever; and it is thought certain here, that our statesmen there are so too. One gives out, that the King likes the humour and way of doing business of the one secretary best, another quite con-

[1] He who intervenes to stop an affray.

trary, as they affect; and I conjecture the grounds as written from there. Such things make my post difficult enough; yet I am envied much by some of both sides. But plain truth has strong joints, and will, I hope, carry me through. I will be glad to hear from you; if you tell me, how matters are there, I can rely upon it. It is talked of you, that you say, there is no credit in the present constitution in Scotland, and that you are not so much my friend, as I think; if it be so, tell me, for I will believe it from no other hand; and you know that I am, &c.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Thursday, March 25th, 1697.

As to the bribery business, I wrote fully before, and have nothing to add. Sir William B. is, as all think, the least guilty of the three; yet his guilt is too deep; he is my kinsman; but the person is unhappy of my kin, that is guilty of any baseness; for I have no countenance either to plead for any such, or to bid another do it. I confess, in a fair business I can be keen enough for my friend, perhaps too much; but I will not defile my fingers by what I set my face to.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

March 25th, 1697.

I am vexed at Crofton; though my cousin, I fear, he is too fair not to be fickle; but I am more vexed, if it is possible, that Sir Ja. is turned upon my Lord Whitlaw: you and I have reason to admire it, if it be. M. L., the best English statesman that ever I knew, gave it me for a rule, 'with the brown man break thy bread;' for constancy and secrecy I have long observed it; I cannot say it never fails, but I have found it oftenest holds.

The same to the Duke of Bedford.

[Extract.]

April 13th, 1697.

Please your Grace, I would not have delayed so long the making a return with all thankfulness to the kind letter, your Grace did honour me by, if I had not been in hope to have waited upon you in London, and to [have] had the satisfaction of converse with your Grace, and my dear and honorable relations of your family. Since his Majesty made me Chancellor of this kingdom, the attendance of

the public courts has wholly taken up my time. I thought, when the vacation season came, I might have had leisure to have come up; but I find it otherwise at this time. Therefore I give your Grace the trouble of this, and therewith an assurance of my constant disposition to serve you and your family, in whatever I may be able, never forgetting the kindnesses I had met with from your Grace, and yours, in a course of a good many years[1].

Your Grace and your children cannot add a more acceptable kindness to me, than to thank the King, who has intrusted and honored me, for his favor to me, and to let his Majesty know, and likewise those of note and eminency about him, as you have opportunity, that I am a relation of your Grace's family, an honor which I so much esteem.

Patrick Earl of Marchmont[2] to Secretary Ogilvie.

Thursday, April 29th, 1697.

I was myself surprised at the hearing of an Earl of March[3]; and if the Duke of Queensberry had used

[1] Especially between the time of his liberation in 1679, and that of the Rye-House Plot, when Sir Patrick Hume was in England.

[2] The Lord Polwarth was created Earl of Marchmont on the 23d April, 1697.

[3] The Lord William Douglas, the second son of William, the first Duke of Queensberry, was created a peer of Scotland, by the title of Earl of March, on the 20th of April, 1697. His eldest brother, James, was then Duke of Queensberry.

freedom with me, I would have told him my opinion kindly. When the late Duke of Lauderdale was made Marquis of March, the late Duke of Hamilton who understood those things very well, complained to me, and said, the Duke of Lauderdale had stolen it from the King, whose ancestors had reserved the titles of Fife and March to their own family or near kindred.

The Dunbars was the original family, who had the title of Earl from King Malcolm, and was too great, which was thought one great occasion of his forfaulture by King [James] the First. The title of March was not bestowed, till Alexander Duke of Albany, brother to King James the Third, got it, who, and his son John, afterwards governor of Scotland, enjoyed it; whose issue failing, the title was dormant, till King James the Sixth gave it to Robert Stewart, Prior of St. Andrew's, his grand-uncle, as I remember, by the father, who had no issue. The Douglasses never had it, nor any other, if the Duke of Hamilton's information was good, which I do not doubt. This I know by certain information, that Sir George Hume, a great favorite of King James the Sixth, who was long Treasurer, and the last that died in that envied office till this day, when he was in 1605 made Earl of Dunbar, could not prevail with his master, with whom he had very much power, to give him the title of March; and King Charles the First would never give it to any. There is no doubt for all this, the King may bestow what title he

pleases upon whom he will, even those of Rothsay and Albany; so the question is only, if it is fit to seek such titles; and I do believe, if the Duke had known all, he would not have sought it for his brother. What I have written was the only reason, that I sought it not; but I think, since his Majesty has given it, it will meet with no stop here, for his Majesty has the disposal of those things[1].

The same to the Duke of Queensberry[2].

[Extract.]

April 29th, 1697.

I do protest to you, I had no view of any inconveniency to your Grace by having commissioners added in the shire of Dumfries. I assure you, I have been, and will be, found concerned to quench, and not to blow a coal. I know, the King likes and desires it; and I have endeavoured, and will do so, to keep those at one, and in a good correspondence,

[1] It appears thus, that Lord Marchmont had abstained from seeking the title of March, as being one that should not have been asked for, although his family was a branch of the house of Dunbar, Earls of March. He had wished to take his title from Berwickshire. It was the county he lived in, and had represented.

[2] Then Lord Privy Seal in Scotland. He afterwards held high offices in both kingdoms, and was Lord High Commissioner in the session of the Scottish parliament, in which the measure of the Union was adopted.

whom his Majesty intrusts and employs in his service, that he may be well served, and his people kept from all occasions of division. I am not, nor can be, *juratus in verba* to any but his Majesty, who, I know, is not capable of any bias to divert him from pursuing those things, which may tend to the good and advantage of his people. I wish heartily, that all of us may observe his Majesty's way; I am sure, he is a good pattern.

The same to Sir Gustavus Hume in Dublin.

Edinburgh, June 8th, 1697.

Cousin,

I suppose my former letters have not reached you while in England; else, I think, you would have seen me before you went into Ireland. I understand, by what your uncle, the Colonel, wrote to me, that he has a design of having you settled in marriage, as soon as conveniently can be; and indeed it is very necessary, seeing your family, of so good interest and credit in that kingdom, stands upon one foot. The interest I have in you, and your family,

[1] Head of the Irish branch of the Hume family. Lord Polwarth, the Earl of Marchmont's eldest son, afterwards married his sister. To this marriage, then approaching, Lord Marchmont adverts in this letter: it took place in the month of December following.

makes me earnestly to wish the standing of it, and to give you my advice heartily, as I conceive conducing to that design. It is, that, in making your match, one principal regard be, that you make your alliance with a virtuous race and family, and such a one as may be a support, and not a burthen, to your own. In the next place, that the matter of portion may not preponderate with you; for a woman, that is virtuous, quickly makes up a portion. And, as the last, I must press upon [you], and those who advise you, that, as you regard the memory of your ancestors, you will, in your settlement of your estate, so order matters, as the remembrance of your house may continue[1]; that is to say, that you settle your estate upon the heirs-male of your own body, which failing, upon the heirs-male of your grandfather's body, which yet failing, upon your heirs-male whatsoever. Or, if you do not like this last, but rather that it go to a female, then let it be to the eldest without division, to her, and the heir-male of her body, being strictly obliged to carry, in the first place, the name of Hume and the arms of your family. I hope quickly to have an interest in your family, which you will perhaps think this advice not well suited to; but I regard the standing of your house, and the preservation of the memory of it. I may with greater earnestness urge this advice upon you, that I am about settling the entail of my

[1] The male line of this branch of the family of Hume became extinguished on the death of Sir Gustavus Hume's son. See *Diary*.

estate and honor to my heirs-male in the same manner, wherein you are to be substituted in your order, by name, and your uncle, Mr. George, after you. I cannot think but this advice will have weight with you, coming from me; otherwise, you may come to blame yourself, when you cannot help it. However, I have done the part of a true friend in what I have advised; and that you may have a due regard unto it, is earnestly wished and expected by, &c.

The same to the Earl of Portland.

July 20th, 1697.

My Lord,

The last I wrote to your Lordship was of the 1st current, which, I hope, you will consider as what this nation is much concerned in, and whereof many do much reckon. I know your Lordship looks upon me as intimately addicted to the King's interest, and to that of my country; and I look upon you as faithful to him, and as a friend to Scotland: I am sure I am in no mistake of it. I hear many discourses; but I am persuaded your Lordship and I are more gentlemen than to dissemble with one another: I will not speak in terms of compliment; I am sure you are a person of truth and honour; and I assure your Lordship, that, if my friendship is of

any value, you have it very intimately; if I can serve you, I will either do it, or satisfy you of the reason why not. I have lived a true man, and so will die; and I am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
Servant, and true friend.

The same to Sir James Stewart, the Lord Advocate at Edinburgh.

[Extract.]

Polwarth House, Oct. 19th, 1697.

Your Lordship's letter of the 18th current with the others, you sent me in it, were truly very surprising to me; the business[1] they give account of, is one of the boldest and most insolent that I have heard of in this kingdom. There is no man more desirous than I to maintain the authority of the law in its vigor, to protect the loyal, and to punish the lawless and disobedient people, wherein truly I am not apt to be a respecter of persons; yet I am at some difficulty how to manage this matter. I would not detain the bearer, therefore I give your

[1] The well-known atrocious outrage committed by Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterwards Lord Lovat, of which the Dowager Lady Lovat, daughter to the Marquis of Athol, and sister to the Earl of Tullibardin, was the object.

Lordship my present thoughts; and if I change them, I shall acquaint you; and if you are not of my opinion, I entreat you, impart your thoughts to me by an express. I cannot but look upon these men as very mad and desperate, and who will stick at nothing; they have persons[1] of quality in their hands and power; and if they should hear of any public course taking against them, I think, there is cause to fear, they would not stand to destroy them. The lady, you see, is capitulating with them; and it is like, the prisoners will be doing so for themselves. The government cannot take that way, but, if the prisoners were once got out of their hands, would certainly act as the case requires; and truly, what Colonel Hill scruples at would not incline me to stop or delay at all.

The same to the Lord Advocate at Edinburgh.

[Extract.]

Polwarth House, Oct. 22d, 1697.
Nine in the morning.

I am glad the ships are laid up, and the stores; care must be taken to keep them, as well as the

[1] The Dowager Lady Lovat, Lord Mungo Murray, her brother, and Lord Saltoun.

ships. I am very sorry that you and Bailiff Clerk are so much troubled by the seamen; certainly they need their wages;—good words will not satisfy them. I wish you may get money to do it, at least in part. You know, my Lord, that I will not fail to give the utmost assistance in my power to those I am engaged with, especially yourself.

(Copy of four letters.)

The same to the Earls of Sutherland, Morton, Leven, and Annandale, in Edinburgh.

Polwarth House, Oct. 30th, 1697.

My Lord,

This evening at five o'clock I had a farther account of the insolent and barbarous carriage of Fraser[1] of Beaufort towards my Lady Lovat, from Dollery by a letter. He will inform your Lordship of the particulars, whereby you will no doubt be concerned to concur effectually, to do what can be for delivering that lady, and giving her the due protection of the government. I could not get in so soon as it is necessary to dispatch orders of council

[1] Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, was tried for this offence in his absence in the following year, and sentenced to death as a traitor: his estate was declared forfeited. But his final settlement of account with justice did not take place till the year 1747. It has been observed respecting him, that 'he is perhaps the only person upon record, who was twice condemned, twice 'forfeited, and whose estate was twice restored.'

about this matter; and I need not recommend it to any person of worth and honor, otherwise than to make all the dispatch can be. Seeing the lords and gentlemen, who were prisoners to the Frasers, are now free, I think your Lordships of Council need not delay to take any warrantable course; for I reckon it impossible, barbarous as they are, that they will act any violence against the lady's life; and your Lordships will understand, that it seems her own friends do not fear it.

I am, &c.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Nov. 11th, 1697.

Now I only tell your Lordship, that if a daughter of mine were in your sister's room, I am sure I could not be more heartily concerned to prosecute those who have done the injury than I am. I am hopeful, the course the council has taken shall answer our expectation, and that we shall quickly have a good account of it. If we do not in this case shew a notable example of the justice and diligence of the government, we should be very much to blame. There are five troops of dragoons

marched north; and Colonel Hill has sent betwixt two and three hundred of the best of his men to Inverness; and the sheriffs there, and of Perthshire, are appointed to raise the country, and assist, whereby the Marquis of Athol's men, and your Lordship, will have occasion to join in the business; and I hope, a course is taken, the best could be thought upon, to prevent the escaping of the ringleaders,—a thing which I am most earnest to do; and if they be got in hands, I am sure, an example will be made, which may be terrible, and signify much to make such riotous people think otherwise of the government and laws, nor they do.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Nov. 13th, 1697.

Seriously I concluded, that the best way was to let the Lords, who were prisoners, take any course they could, to get themselves at liberty; for I was convinced, as I still am, that if the government had commanded any force against these desperate ruffians, the ringleaders would undoubtedly [have] cut off the prisoners, and shifted for themselves; and therefore it was my opinion, that we should give

them some time to try what they could do for themselves; for then we had no knowledge of any rudeness acted towards the lady, your sister, when I left Edinburgh, which was upon Thursday, the 28th of October, when all our business was over. Upon Saturday the 30th, at five o'clock in the evening, a post on horseback came to my house with letters, which brought me an account, that your brother and the Lord Saltoun were got free, but that your sister was kept, and barbarously used.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

November 25th, 1697.

I am very glad, that my Lady Lovat was got at freedom and liberty, before the orders for disbanding[1] came. I doubt not, but your Lordship had an account the last post, that upon appearance of the Lyon Herald to charge them, and the readiness of the forces to fall upon them, the Frazers sent my Lady away to Inverness; the two Bewforts[2] fled to shift for themselves; and all that were with them dissipated; and my Lady was coming upon her journey from Inverness with her brother to Dunkeld.

[1] The disbanding the forces on the Peace of Ryswick.

[2] Captain Fraser's father was designated Thomas Fraser of Beaufort.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

December 23d, 1697.

Sir,

Albeit I know, that your Majesty gets the opinions of others upon business of this kingdom, and though I am nice enough of offering my thoughts unrequired, yet I could not at this time forbear, upon the surprising account of the Commons of England, their vote for disbanding the troops[1], humbly to trouble your Majesty with this letter.

They of England, 'tis like, reckon much upon the fleet, and will think of strengthening it for the defence. This kingdom has no fleet, but has abundance of men, I hope as good as other nations.

The fewer troops be kept up in England, the need is the greater of keeping more in Scotland. However strong or weak a Jacobite party is in England, it is very strong here. Whatever names it covers under, it retains the same nature. Now it sets up as favorer of the Church of England against Scots Presbytery, thinking thereby to delude

[1] Upon the Peace of Ryswick, signed September 20th, 1697, the English army was reduced to 10,000 men.

your Majesty's good subjects of the Church of England. I have, since I was Chancellor, bridled my natural humor exceedingly. I have carried so lowly and softly, and have so endured and borne with humours, as was discerned by observers, that I have studied even to become all things to all men, whereby to gain them to your Majesty's interest. Yet after all, I must tell your Majesty, the success is no ways answerable: the snake will be a snake still.

Your Majesty has a good parliament here; I hope, none will advise the changing it, for one so good will hardly be got to succeed it. There are several, who, I am sure, are stedfast to your Majesty, your interest, and service, who have had, and still have, a great influence upon the members of the House, who do much lay to heart the present proceedings in England; and, I hope, when the opportunity comes, will do their utmost to have our Parliament to give proofs to your Majesty of fidelity, love, and gratitude, in some measure suitable to the great benefits this nation has enjoyed by your Majesty's being King.

We cannot but observe, that many, who pretend to be well enough satisfied with the Government, do hear, and disperse with cheerfulness, the news of the Commons' vote, and highly applaud them for wisdom, and concern for their country. Such I reckon heart enemies to your Majesty; yet such is

their mask, that there is hazard of their deceiving well-meaning people, if pains were not taken to expose their artifice.

The same to the Earl of Tullibardin.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Jan. 9th, 1698.

I remember in my letter to the King of the 23d December, I said, I never wished more to be near his Majesty than now. I wish your Lordship to explain this. The cause of the expression was, that I perceived such a ferment in the minds of many, occasioned by the motions of the English[1] in crossing the projects of trade of this nation; there seems to be such an humor of resentment, as, I protest, may make one fear dangerous consequences.

[1] The English East India and African Companies had put a stop to the subscriptions, which the Scottish African and West India Company was obtaining in England. This is the first trace in these papers of that ferment, which produced important and very unfortunate national effects, and a resentment in Scotland against England, of which King William's and Queen Anne's reigns afforded multiplied proofs. It is extremely probable however, that as the union with Ireland was the fruit of a rebellion in that kingdom, so would not the union between England and Scotland have been effected, but for the exasperation against England grafted on Jacobitism, which grew amongst the Scots to such extent and height, that their leading men saw, that nothing but such an incorporation of the two nations could save the island from a fear-

The same to Secretary Ogilvie.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Feb. 22d, 1698.

The Council has granted commission of fire and sword to the Laird of Mc Kintosh and others therein named, for executing the legal sentences at his instance against the violent possessors of his land in the Brae of Lochaber.

The same to the Earl of Annandale.

[Extract.]

London, March 31st, 1698.

I have had a very short audience of the King on Tuesday last, and am to have another to-morrow at ten o'clock. You may be sure, I will endeavor to acquit myself both honestly and prudently in giv-

ful convulsion, of which the effects at home and abroad would have been incalculable. But this matter had its beginning in 1695, when the English Lords and Commons addressed a complaint to King William respecting a Scots Act of Parliament for creating a Company to trade to Africa and the East Indies with privileges, which, it was apprehended, must ruin the English East India trade. This act was disowned by King William. The Scots Company, though designated as 'African,' did nothing to justify that name, but made arrangements with much secrecy to settle a colony at Darien on the Spanish Main.

ing my opinion to the King, still remembering, as becomes a subject, that counsel is no command. I must have a regard to the main chance, to wit, the legal establishments, and the stability of the government, so as to have no hand in what may give the common enemy any advantage.

The same to my Lord Whitelaw[1].

From London, March 31st, 1698.

My Lord,

The news we got from there of Commissary Dalrymple's being President of the Session were very surprising. I now understand, that the King had resolved it some time ago, and that, having known my opinion by my letter, did of purpose despatch the order, before I should be here to speak to him upon that subject. Now it is done, and there is no more to be said. My Lord Tullibardin is much vexed about it; I do what I can, to qualify him to what I judge prudent and becoming. I saw your lordship's letter to him; and my hearty advice to you is, that you resolve or do nothing rashly; and that by no means you send back what was ordered by his Majesty to be sent to you; otherwise the con-

[1] Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw appears to have been made an ordinary Lord of Session, and Lord Justice Clerk, in 1693.

sequence may be very bad. I had a short audience of the King on Tuesday last in discourse of you. He said, he knew, you are a very honest man, and that you had done him very considerable service, for which he would reward you kindly, though not in that way, which you had aimed at. I am to be heard again to-morrow, at ten o'clock; and you shall hear from me again by Saturday's post. Now I beseech you to consider well, and let your reason and sober judgment overrule all your motions. You know, I have been long in intimate friendship with you; and it is my great desire to act that part in any advice I give you; and I assure you, I give no other than what I would take from you, if I were in your circumstances, and you as I am. I shall add no more now, but that I am, &c.

The same to my Lord Crosrig[1].

[Extract.]

London, Thursday, March 31st, 1698.

You may tell the new Lord President from me, that though I would heartily have preferred the Lord Whitelaw to the chair before him, yet my friendship to Whitelaw carried in it no mixture of

[1] David Hume of Crocerig, an ordinary Lord of Session.

enmity to him, and that I am very confident he will carry himself as a man of honor, with a due regard to his master's service, and with such equality as will farther engage his friends, and reconcile his enemies to him, if he have any. You know both my principle and temper, and can explain at large, both to my Lord Whitelaw, and to the President, what I write. In short I have no time to say more; but I pray you, write to me fully what you observe, and are informed of, about this late transaction. I had a short audience of the King upon Tuesday last. His Majesty treated me both freely and kindly. I am to have another to-morrow, and shall write to you about it. Now I must take leave, and am, &c.

The same to Sir Alexander Monro.

[Extract.]

Tuesday, April 5th, 1698.

At the second audience I had of the King, he told me, I must be his commissioner to the parliament. . . . . I did not expect it upon several accounts, which you shall know, when we meet. Now I must desire of you, and of our other intimate friends, who have been so long at one in our opinions, that you will draw no conclusions, but be upon the reserve, till we have occasion to meet to-

gether; and be assured, that I will deal plainly and truly with you. I cannot now get written to Culloden, nor his neighbors in that country; but I would have you and him signifying to our friends, what I write to you, that their minds may be free from prepossession; and when we meet, you will be convinced, that there is good reason for it, and how hard it is to judge of matters at a distance. I know very well the way of guessing and judging, which is usual there, and how wide the conjectures are from the centre of business. And I shall not have conversed with you or other friends half an hour, when you will be also convinced of it, as I am. I wish my Lord Whitelaw may not allow any passion to struggle with his reason. I hope he will not. We know, that God governs the world, and that we ourselves are very short-sighted; and I am sure, both you and I have often experienced, that our chance (so to speak) has been better than our choice.

The same to my Lord Whitelaw.

[Extract.]

London, April 19th, 1698.

I have your Lordship's of the 5th current. Things, which have lately happened, have been very sur-

prising to me, as your lordship may easily imagine, especially the Earl of Tullibardin his dimitting, which he did cross and contrary to my advice, and that of several of his friends here. It troubles me not a little, that it is talked here, as if a letter from your Lordship, or from some to whom you have said so much, intimating that you would send back to Secretary Ogilvie the paper which he had sent down to you, had been the occasion, that my Lord Tullibardin was inflexible in his resolution of dimitting. My lord was earnest with me to carry his dimission to the King, which I by no means would do, being so far contrary to my opinion.

To Mr. Hugh Dalrymple[1]*, Lord President of the Session.*

London, April 21st, 1698.

My Lord,

I have got your Lordship's of the 6th current, very kind and obliging. As I doubt not, that you will carry yourself worthily in the important post, where his Majesty has placed you, so I do assure your Lordship, that I will heartily endeavor to perform honestly the duty of my station, with a particular regard to your Lordship, and to your support and

[1] He was third son of the first Viscount Stair, and was afterwards made a Baronet.

encouragement in the weighty charge you bear, so as his Majesty, who has employed us, and his people, who will have the feeling sense of what good we can do, may have reason to wish our standing, and not to weary of us. I hope your Lordship knows of me, that what friendship I have had for some worthy and sufficient men cannot easily be altered, yet has been, and is such, as never did nor will preclude a hearty and honest friendship for others, in whom there is worth and merit to be found. I may boldly say it, I have a sound friendship for many, and enmity against none, but the enemies of our religion, liberties, and the happy revolution, against whom I have owned to have it. The proof of these things shall, I hope, appear to the satisfaction of us both. Then you will have more reason to be convinced, that I am truly, &c.

The same to my Lord Crosrig.

[Extract.]

London, April 21st, 1698.

I have ground to say, that my Lord Tullibardin has much digested what has happened; and I hope he shall shew himself discreet and prudent in his carriage; and I cannot think, but my Lord

Whitclaw is so much under the conduct of good reason and understanding, as will tie him to discreet and prudent measures. I am very much persuaded, that the Lord President Dalrymple will carry himself as you write; I am sure, it is greatly his interest to do so. As for myself, things have happened surprisingly to me. I know, and consider whence promotion comes, who it is that pulls down one, and sets up another. I have long exercised myself in studying a humble acquiescence in the providences of God, of whatever sort, towards me; and I hope in his mercy, that he will enable me to do it. If I can keep honestly to my duty, I will not be bold to pry into events, which are beyond my reach. I resolve to give my opinion candidly, remembering still, that counsel is no command to any, especially to princes. I fear, the forgetting of this proverb has been prejudicial to some of late. I had been importuned to deliver back the letter of pension, your Lordship mentions; but I would not do it, and told plainly, that if it came in my hand, I would return it to my Lord Whitelaw; so I fancy it will lie where it is, and not be given up.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, July 25th, 1698.

Sir,

So soon as I came to Edinburgh, I began to make what trial I could of the disposition of the members of parliament towards your Majesty's good designs, which you had been pleased to impart to me. I quickly found, that there had been much pains taken by some to make impressions upon them against maintaining the troops upon the present establishment, and against imposing any assessment, or other burden upon the kingdom. The arguments made use of were, that the excise annexed to the crown is sufficient to maintain all the guards necessary in time of peace; that nothing is fitter for your Majesty's service, than that the people should be encouraged by enjoying presently the fruits of the peace in being made free of those burdens they bore during the war; that England had disbanded all the troops to a very few, and did not keep up a proportion to what can be maintained here by the annexed excise; that the dearth of grain is such here at present, as makes it very difficult for the people to get bread; that the crop of corn, by reason of the long continued drought, is so bad, and the harvest likely to be so late, as make the people very apprehensive

of extreme scarcity and dearth, yea, of a famine in the country. This was the great handle made use of; and the only argument of weight having so much truth in it, I took all the pains possible for me to reason with, and convince the members. The Duke of Queensberry, the Earl of Argyle, and the Viscount of Seafield did apply themselves very heartily, and took much pains. We had the diligent assistance of several worthy members of all ranks of the House, and of some other good men not of the House, who went about to convince others. It was a work not possible to be managed by a few hands; and at the entering upon it we did not hope to bring it to such a pass in one week's time, as we did; yet by the blessing of God, which follows your Majesty, and to whom you owe perpetual thanks, we succeeded so happily, that before Tuesday the 19th, when the Parliament met, we had prevailed so far upon the members, that I resolved not to adjourn longer, but to push the business. The first step was the naming of the committees, which was got done to our satisfaction. The committee for the security of the kingdom having met upon Friday the 22nd, it was agitated and debated, if the maintaining the troops upon the present establishment is necessary for the support of his Majesty's government, and the safety of the country. There was little said against it in that committee. The way, the opposers took, was to press a delay, and that the question should lie before them to be

considered of for some days; and when they perceived that would not do, they pressed to delay it till the afternoon, when they would meet again upon it. But this was not yielded; and upon the questions put, if the number of the troops upon the present establishment were necessary, and to be continued or not, it [was] carried in the affirmative. There was only one vote, Lord Whitelaw against it, and one member, Lord Halcraig, *not clear*. This opinion of the committee was brought into the House upon Saturday the 23d; there was a great deal of reasoning upon it, and the opposers were very keen upon all the grounds of argument before mentioned. After the debate had continued long, (for we sat till near five in the evening) the Earl of Tullibardin presented a proposal of seven articles which is herewith sent. This renewed the debate, which was a falling. In end, the question being put, it [was] carried in the affirmative, 'Resolved, that it is necessary for the support of the government and safety of the kingdom, that the number of the forces upon the present establishment be continued.' The votes against it were only 38; so I hope, the most difficult step is made, and carried to the advantage of your Majesty's service, and the security of your good subjects.

[MEMORANDUM[1].]

July 26th, 1698.

1. Assent to be given to such acts, as may tend to compose differences among churchmen in church matters.

2. Assent to be given to acts in favor of the Presbyterian church government, which shall not be inconsistent with, or prejudicial to the King's prerogative, or the protection granted to Episcopal ministers.

3. Assent to be given to such acts as may facilitate the planting[2] of vacant churches.

4. Assent to be given to acts necessary for punishing and discouraging all profaneness and irreligion, either by reviving old laws, or making new ones.

5. Assent may be given to an act for making the provisions allowed to ministers who preach in vacant churches more certain and effectual.

6. An act to be endeavored for a sufficient fund for payment of the arrears due to the forces lately disbanded, the present forces being first supplied.

7. An act to be endeavored for a fund for repairing the garrison places, particularly Fort William, and for the by-gone arms and ammunition.

[1] This paper appears to contain the heads of the instructions sent by King William to Patrick Earl of Marchmont, as his High Commissioner in the Scottish Parliament, which met on the 19th July, 1698.

[2] Supplying vacant churches with ministers, and providing stipends for the support of the ministers. The Lords of Session are now Commissioners for that purpose.

8. Assent may be given to acts for making the forces more orderly and regular in their quarters, and for paying what shall be furnished to them.

9. Assent to be given to an act for the more easy bringing in of his Majesty's rents and revenues.

10. Assent may be given to an act for clearing and regulating the differences betwixt donators, and forfaulted persons in the late reigns, and now restored.

11. Assent to be given to acts for making the Highlands more peaceable and obedient to the laws.

12. Assent to be given to acts for clearing former laws, and for making new ones, for securing the private rights and properties of the subjects with relation to one another.

13. Assent to be given to an act regulating the manner of granting protections by the parliament.

14. Assent to be given to acts necessary for altering or rectifying any part of the regulation of judicatories, or to grant a new commission for that end, the nomination of the commissioners being left to the King.

15. Assent to be given to acts necessary for regulating the commission of tithes, the session and criminal court, the sheriff commissariot and regality courts, and other inferior judicatories, and for limiting and distinguishing their respective jurisdictions, so that all debates amongst them for the future may be evited.

16. Assent to be given to an act for discouraging and preventing marriages of children, who are within the years of minority, without consent of their parents.

17. Assent may be given to an act regulating the post-office, providing it do not diminish the present rents and profits thereof.

18. Assent to be given to acts determining the punishment of all thefts and other crimes, wherein the pains are not already determined by former laws.

19. Assent to be given to acts necessary for making the justiciary in the Highlands more effectual, by giving them instructions for regulating their proceedings, and for continuing thereof for a longer time, if the parliament think fit so to do.

20. Assent may be given to acts necessary for encouraging universities, schools and hospitals.

21. Assent to be given to acts necessary for encouraging and better regulating trade, and for erecting manufactories and companies for trade, particularly for fishing, provided the companies consist of Scotsmen.

22. Assent may be given to an act for altering the book of rates, provided his Majesty sustain no loss by the alteration.

23. Assent may be given to an act reviving the former sumptuary laws, or to new ones restraining the expences of apparel.

24. Assent to be given to acts for the better maintaining and employing the poor.

25. Assent to be given to acts needful for regulating the coin.

26. An act to be endeavored to continue as long as the parliament shall think fit, obliging masters of ships, who shall import passengers, to detain them till they be presented to a privy counsellor, or to the sheriff, or magistrate of the place, where they shall arrive, to the effect that if such passengers are known to be loyal and well-affected, they may be dismissed; but, if otherwise, that they may be detained, till the privy council be acquainted; and that the said masters of ships be obliged to the observance of the act under such pains and penalties, as shall be thought fit.

27. Assent may be given, if the parliament shall think fit to provide for the disbanded officers, until they be paid off their arrears, or otherwise provided for, the standing forces being first supplied.

28. An act to be endeavored (after the supplies for the forces are settled) continuing the imposition of tonnage upon ships, or providing some other fund for maintaining or employing the frigates.

29. Assent may be given to an act allowing of a copper coinage, in such terms as the parliament shall think fit, providing that the benefit arising therefrom be left at his Majesty's disposal.

30. Assent may be given to an act dispensing with the calling out of the militia for so long time, as the parliament shall give funds for maintaining the standing forces conformed to the present esta-

blishment, except in the case of necessity, such as defending against foreign invasion, or suppressing intestine insurrection.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, July 28th, 1698.

Sir,

Yesterday, after a long debate maintained upon the opposing side by the same persons whom I mentioned in my former letter, it was resolved in plain[1] parliament, that funds be given for the maintenance of the number of the forces upon the present establishment for two years, viz. from November 1698, till November 1700. There was a design by the opposers to have prevented the report of the Committee of Security, which carried in this resolve; for the Marquis of Tweeddale had a petition from the Council of the African Company to the Parliament, which he designed to have presented, before the president of the committee could offer the report he had to bring in; but he got it not done. Yet immediately after the president presented the report, the Marquis offered the petition, and pressed to have it read, and was so much seconded, that there was difficulty to get the report of the com-

[1] French. 'En plein Parlement.'

mittee to be first read and considered, which would not have been yielded to without a vote (that was not to be hazarded), if we had not condescended to read the petition, and the annexed memorial, before we parted that diet. After reading them, they were appointed to lie upon the table till the first *sederunt* of the next week. I am apprehensive, that this petition create us trouble, for the opposers make a handle of that business, which is so popular, many being concerned in it, that I am afraid I shall have much difficulty to get the matter so ordered, as may give your Majesty satisfaction.

Patrick Earl of Marchmont to King William.

Edinburgh, Monday, Aug. 8th, 1698.

Sir,

Upon Wednesday, the 3rd current, the petition from the council of the African Company was, according to a resolve of the House of Wednesday, the 27th July, again read. There had been pains enough taken by both sides in the time intervening. I was very earnest to prevent the matter being much reasoned upon in plain parliament, knowing that it would occasion great heat, and that some would go high in offering and pressing motions, which I, and your Majesty's other servants would not willingly hear; and perceiving plainly, that

many who had concurred heartily for continuing the troops, and for imposing the supply, and who, I hope, will still do so in other[1] . . . . steps of your Majesty's service, were altogether averse from making any appearance, which might seem cross to that company. After advising with your Majesty's servants, and others, whom I found best disposed to set off that petition in the easiest manner that it could be done, we resolved to cut short as much as we could any debate upon it in the House, and to have it referred to the Committee for Security of the Kingdom.

When the petition was read, those, who pressed it, fell reasoning upon it very earnestly. The Lord President of Parliament answered with great wariness and discretion, and indeed had a difficult task of it that day. He was supported in the argument most by the Earl of Annandale, Lord Justice Clerk, and Sir John Hume; but all of them were obliged to reason with great wariness, and appearance of respect to the company; otherwise they would have marred the design of having the petition remitted to a committee, which being motioned, and appearing agreeable to the House, it was moved by the presenters of the petition, that a new committee should be appointed for it; and after some debate upon it, the question was put, to remit to the Committee for Security, or to a new committee; and it

[1] A word is here effaced.

carried to the Committee for Security, one hundred and two votes to fifty-one.

I, and the rest of your Majesty's servants did design, and endeavored by all means that we could, to prevent any address to your Majesty from the parliament upon the petition, and labored all we could to satisfy the members in private, that it was better to recommend to me and your Majesty's secretary, to lay the petition before your Majesty, and to represent the whole circumstances of that affair, and beg your Majesty's favor and protection to that Company; but we could not possibly prevail in this; those we had the greatest influence upon, could not be prevailed with to support us in it.

When the petition was laid before the committee, the members of it, except a few, who durst not adventure to contradict plainly, shewed an earnest inclination to a discreet address from the parliament to your Majesty; whereupon, the form marked (A) was presented; but it did not satisfy the committee. Then the form of the address as it stands was presented, which had been framed by the moderate persons, who had joined with us in all things, and were earnestly concerned to carry the business off in the easiest manner. When it was read, a paper was presented by the hotter party, which vexed me very much, and obliged me to discourse in the committee with as much fervor, as the nice point then in hand could well allow of. The paper presented, being proposals, is marked (B); then the committee

reasoned upon the form of the address as it now is, and voted to transmit to the parliament; and it was presented in the House upon Friday, the 5th current, where, after some debate upon it, it was approven by vote of the House, *nemine contradicente;* and this day the President of Parliament was appointed to send it to your Majesty. I beg pardon for this tedious letter, and I remain,

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most dutiful subject, and
most obedient humble servant.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, July 30th, 1698.

Sir,

This day the Act offering to your Majesty the sum of 1,150,000*l.* being sixteen months cash, payable in two years, which had been read the former day, was read the second time and debated. . . .

. . . . . .

Then the question was put, 'Approve the Act, or not.' The votes against it were so very few, that it passed 'approve' almost unanimously. Then the President of Parliament subscribed it; and I touched the act with your Majesty's royal sceptre.

I resolved to make all the dispatch, that is possible, whereby this session may be brought to a happy close, which is earnestly desired by, may it please, &c.

The same to the King.

Palace of Holyrood House, Sept. 3d, 1698.

Sir,

Yesterday being the 1st of September, I did put a close to this session, and adjourned the parliament to the 15th day of November next, in your Majesty's name. Since the 8th day of August, the date of my former letter, I have had so little leisure, that I was necessitated to leave to the Viscount of Seafield to send accounts of what was doing, as he could get any time for it; the minutes of each day's *sederunt*, which I sent to the Earl of Portland, and to Mr. Pringle, sub-secretary, carry all that has been done. The petition from the African Company occasioned to us a great deal of pains, and much ado to carry it off by that address sent to your Majesty. I can assert, there was no means left unessayed; yet it was impossible to bring that matter to an easy accommodation. When the opposers saw themselves deprived of that handle, then they took up the overture for restraining the expences of apparel,

designing upon that to have a prohibition of importing from England anything made of silk or of wool. This occasioned to us a great dealing in private among the members; and the uses the opposers of business made of this, continued to the last, so that we had much ado to manage so as that I should obtain to make use of a negative. The parliament was mightily divided about the matter of the wool, so that it was hard to guess which side was the strongest, whether that for prohibiting the export of wool, or that for allowing it. But both sides were so much in earnest, and violent, that it was likely to have occasioned great heat; and there was difficulty enough to get it prevented. The difference betwixt the Royal boroughs and the other towns, about the communication of trade, was likewise very hard to get adjusted, and to prevent great heat in the House upon that difference betwixt them.

The Viscount of Stair intending to come into the House, it raised a humor[1] among the members, which obliged me to interpose for dissuading him, wherein I with difficulty prevailed. I needed to use somewhat of authority in it, to prevent a flame, which otherwise would have been raised.

It is like, your Majesty may have heard a complaint against me, that I commanded the Earl of

[1] He had been laid aside as Secretary of State in consequence of the massacre at Glencoe; much of the blame of which deplorable event was imputed to him.

Tullibardin to be under arrest in his chamber, which I did, upon a heavy complaint of an abuse committed by him and his brother on the Laird of Balnagoun, a gentleman of the best quality in this kingdom, and who had shewn his loyalty and good affections to your Majesty and your government by his good services. I know, your Majesty will reserve an ear for me; and I doubt not to satisfy you with my reasons, besides that of preserving the peace and preventing bloodshed, while the parliament was sitting, there being in town abundance of Highlanders of the Earl of Tullibardin's men, and the Laird of Balnagoun's, carrying swords, daggers, and side pistols upon them, as their manner is.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Tuesday, Jan. 3d, 1699.

My Lord,

Since the news of the House of Commons' procedure[1] came hither, discourses are set about, as if many of that House are much displeased with what was done here last session; and as that the King would [be] under a necessity for appeasing them, to

[1] The reduction of the army in England to 7000 men, who were all to be natural born subjects.

make a sacrifice (so they express it) of some who had most hand in business here, particularly two, whom you may easily guess. This has occasioned my writing what I have sent to Mr. Pringle at this time. For my own part, I am always ready to be disposed of as my master pleases, and as his service may require.

I am, &c.

The same to Alexander Hume Earl of Dunbar, at Emden in East Friesland.

Edinburgh, Saturday, January 7th, 1699.

Right Honorable and my dear Cousin,

It would take a long letter to make a due apology for me, that, having received one so kind from you, I have not sooner given a suitable return. But indeed I have been so very much taken up about the public affairs of this kingdom, since I came from court in June last, that I had not leisure enough to get myself informed upon what I designed to write to you about; and I persuade myself, that you will not be apt to impute my delay of writing to any unkindness, or want of respect, and so will have the goodness not to blame me. Your son, who is frequently with me, I am very much

satisfied of. He carries himself very discreetly, as becomes a gentleman, to the satisfaction of all his friends here. He had not long ago a wound in an unlucky encounter, which, I once feared, did endanger his life; but, blessed be God! he is perfectly well again.

I have conversed with several of your friends upon the matter of your returning to your country, and the estate of your ancestors. We are all mightily desirous of it; and there are many reasons to move you to it. Your rank is among the first of the Earls of this kingdom. The estate of your family, and a great deal more land adjacent to it, is now going to sale, by way of roup or auction, which is the way here, when those, that have debts exhausting any man's estate, pursue a sale before the Lords of Session. There is a process depending at the instance of the creditors of the gentleman, who last had the wadset of that estate, to bring it to a decreet of sale. The doubt is, of which I cannot well be determined, whether it is fitter for you to use an order of redemption upon the reversion that you have against the last inheritor, or to come in, and offer as a buyer at the roup or auction, or whether those two can be joined together. Some think, your best will be to use an order, and pursue a declarator of redemption or regress. Others think, that this will be so tedious and expensive, as it will be easier for you to come in as an offerer in the auction or process of selling. All are of opinion,

that if you were here, you, having the reversion, can either put a stop to any others buying, or buy it yourself. It is very fit, that you consider and resolve something speedily; for, if the pursuers of the sale shall insist earnestly, it may be difficult to keep it off till the first of March, when the Session rises. Therefore, I shall be glad, how soon I can hear from you. I am, as your other friends are, very free to advise you to settle your interest and family in the seat of your ancestors, both because you shall be forward among the peers, and because you would be among many families of your kindred and name; and likewise because indeed an interest and estate cannot be more secure in any place in Europe than in this kingdom; our titles are so plain, and our records so clear; but, I think, there is nobody will doubt, that we, in this kingdom, and our inheritances, are much more secure and safe, happen in the world what will, than any which are upon the Continent, where wars and invasions are much more to be suspected than here, in so great and powerful an island, so strong at sea, and under so good a government. All this I say upon a supposition, that you are able to raise your whole means and estate in that country, and transfer it to this kingdom; and likewise supposing, that your stock is such as may acquire an estate here suitable to your dignity. These things I am not capable to judge of; and you only can give me such information, as is fit for me to rely upon; only, I can assure

you, that a family of quality can live as well and as cheap in this country, and with as much decency, as in any country of Europe. I have seen and observed the way and fashion of living in several countries; and I can be the more free in asserting this. It is true, it seems to require a greater estate for one in your circumstances coming from a strange country to set up in his own; but, of the families settled here, I know several of your rank, who have not, of yearly rent free, above twelve thousand[1] gilders of your money; and an estate of twenty thousand gilders[2], by year free, is here reckoned a considerable estate to persons of the same rank that you are. This may be something of a standard whereby you may judge the better of what you have to do, and how to order your matters; and if you and your family there find your condition fit for it, and incline to it, which I heartily wish, and which is very agreeable to your son here, I am persuaded there will be nothing more pleasing to your many noble and worthy relations in this country, than to have you settled amongst them; and I dare say, there is none among them, that would more heartily welcome you and your family than, &c.[3]

[1] 1090*l.* [2] 1818*l.*

[3] This Earl of Dunbar was acknowledged as such by King William, to whom he was sent as Envoy by the Prince of East Friesland, to congratulate him on being made King of England. He settled in that country, was Governor of Embden, and died in it. His son died young at Edinburgh, in 1703, before him; and, as he had no male issue, which survived him, the title has remained dormant since his death.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Edinburgh, Monday, April 3d, 1699.

My Lord,

Mr. Cunningham[1] of Aket was so long of coming to town, that we reckoned he was come straight from Bristol to his house in the West; but it was not so; he came straight hither the end of the last week. I have conversed with him, and find no difference in the account he gives of the colony, from what Mr. Hamilton gave, who came several days before him; whereof, I doubt not, your Lordship has had an account, though I delayed to write till I should speak with Aket, knowing him to be a discreet man. All the information I have, is, that in the beginning of November the Scots ships came to the Isthmus of Darien, and met with no opposition in their landing; which was at a place of the coast not formerly known to be convenient and safe to land on. In a short time the natives came to them, and shewed them kindness enough, being very willing to receive them, and make room for them. Their princes, or captains, and people, have not been under the dominion of the King of Spain,

[1] This is the Major Cunningham of Eckatt, whose project to stop the Union, and to proclaim King James, is recorded by Lockhart.

or of any other European potentate; and none have had any reception, nor have assumed any possession in that place, where the Scots colony is, till they came, and did it with the consent of the natives. The most part have had a seasoning of sickness; but when Aket and Mr. Hamilton left them, they were all well recovered and at work, except four or five persons. They lost by sickness in the voyage forty-four persons, and twenty-eight after their landing. They wanted not provision of any sort; and the natives helped to furnish them with beasts and fowl fit for food. They say, the situation, where they are settled, is convenient, and naturally strong; and they are fortifying to prevent attempts upon them. I wonder to hear, that they are so little apprehensive of the Spaniards, and more jealous of some trick to be put upon them by the French. There is an unaccountable inclination among people here to go thither; and, by what I can find, that undertaking is not likely to want all the support this country is able to give it, either of men or money, so long as we have any. I cannot give a reason for this, nor can I dive, what is in the secret of Providence; but, as you hint, there is either a great advantage or a great prejudice a coming. God knows which. My constitution has ever been disposed to hope the best; and I am confident, our good King will act a kind part towards this nation, which, I am sure, will be found more and more thankful and dutiful to him.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Polwarth House,
Saturday, October 7th, 1699.

You may remember, your Lordship was speaking a little to me about an union of the two kingdoms; I have much thought upon it, and I am of opinion, that the generations to come of Scotsmen will bless them and their posterity, who can have a good hand in it; and I could wish, that you and I both, who (thanks to God) have hitherto been acceptable both to our King and country, may have some good hand in an affair, that may be of so great advantage and honor to our King and to our country[1].

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Polwarth House,
Wednesday, Oct. 18th, 1699.

My Lord,

I owe answers to two of yours of the 5th and 10th current. I have had nothing till lately what

[1] This wish was fulfilled, but in another reign, and when Lord Marchmont had lost his office, and his correspondent held it.

is occasioned by the reflections upon the account of the Scots colony in America to write of to you. Now it is plain, that bad humor appears too generally upon that score. You know, how much that undertaking did nationally take here; and I find clearly, that some take advantage and occasion to impose upon the multitude, and to persuade them that . . . . . [1], have had great accession to this kingdom's disgrace and loss, by the misgiving of that business; whereas indeed the delaying of sending the ships, which went with Jamisone, six months almost longer than they might have been despatched, has in all probability occasioned what has followed. For the colony, as Captain Mackay satisfied the directors of, had, when he left them, six months' provision full; and he sent them provisions to the value of eight hundred pounds sterling of the merchandise he sold upon his voyage; so that they could not want provisions. But they having never heard from Scotland in so long a time since their first landing in Darien, it is very like have been made believe by other accounts, they have had from strangers designing their ruin, that their business was broke here. This is all what I have to reason against those, who will have them to have wanted provision, because of the proclamations in the English colonies;

[1] All the blanks in this letter are so left in the original.

and you know where this lands. I am ignorant what passed betwixt Lord Basil Hamilton and the Viscount of Seafield, after he had parted from the Duke of Hamilton; but it is given out, that he owned to him, that he knew much of that matter, more a great deal than ever he spoke of to me. The design is clearly to load . . . . . in particular. But, as our proverb says, 'The first puff of the haggis is the worst,' I am doing what I can to soften and appease humors.

I have great difficulty at present how to carry myself, so as to acquit myself in my duty to . . . . . , and at the same time, not to lose all reputation and interest of prevailing with the soberest sort of those, who are so earnestly concerned for that colony and undertaking. I need to pray God to guide me. I hear, the Thesaurer Depute[1] is a little fervent upon the colony's account. But I hope the ferment, which is high at present, will slacken; but I find, the Duke of Hamilton, and those he can make, will keep it up all . . . . . they can.

[1] Adam Cockburn of Ormiston.

The same to the King.

Polwarth House, Oct. 24th, 1699.

Sir,

I am necessitated to trouble your Majesty at this time, for I am straitened how to carry myself so as may be most useful for your Majesty's service. The disaster, as the accounts of it are spread here, which has lately happened to the Scots colony in Darien, occasions an universal dissatisfaction in this nation, most part imputing it to the proclamations in the English plantations, passing by other obvious causes. The council of the company has borrowed money to dispatch presently more men and provisions to the colony, to follow the ships lately sent off with a considerable number of men and quantity of provisions.

Their council has also voted an address to your Majesty, representing the rights of the colony's establishment, and desiring your Majesty will take off the force from the proclamations, and allow your English subjects free commerce with the colony; desiring likewise, that your Majesty will allow your Scots parliament to meet at the day, to which it is adjourned, or so soon after as is possible with

your Majesty's convenience, to consider the condition of that affair. There is also an address to the Privy Council concluded upon, laying before it an account of the address to your Majesty, and desiring the favor and concurrence of the Council to it. Some are likewise appointed to bespeak the Commission of the General Assembly for an universal fast upon the present occasion. There is truly a warm ferment in this nation; and it is plain to me, that some work under hand to increase it. That part of the address to your Majesty relating to the parliament, and the address to the Council, were vigorously opposed by the Earl of Annandale, the President of the Session, the Thesaurer Depute, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh; but though they reasoned strongly, there was no prevailing, for of that council, being forty-three in number, only six or seven dissented, of whom the Earl of Leven was one.

I presume humbly to lay my opinion before your Majesty upon the whole matter. Thus stands the case: this nation in general is incredibly set upon that undertaking. Many of all ranks are particularly concerned in it; many concerned in it are members of parliament; many of the members of parliament are of that company. Your Majesty's affairs, especially the subsisting of your troops, cannot admit of long delay of the parliament's meeting. When it meets, that company's concern and circumstances will certainly be soon represented. My

opinion is, that if it can conduce much to the obtaining such grants as are necessary for your Majesty's affairs, and the keeping up your troops, your Majesty need not scruple your assent, if the parliament will impose something for supporting that colony and company, upon consideration of the damage sustained. If such a thing be highly insisted upon in parliament, and carried, and that your Majesty assent to it, an occasion may fitly be taken, to enact, that all counsellors, directors, and officers of that company, shall swear the allegiance, and sign the assurance and association to your Majesty and your government, which would prevent the bad uses, which I indeed suspect many of that company design to make of it, to give disturbance to your Majesty's affairs and service. I write this to your Majesty only; for if it should come to be known, that I have proposed it, I would be rendered so suspect to many, whom I now have good interest with, as might weaken the influence I have in carrying on your Majesty's designs.

I have many arguments for what I have offered, too long to write; but as the case stands, your Majesty can judge what commands you will lay upon me. I dare not adventure to give an opportunity for presenting the company's address to the Privy Council, for I am jealous of the consequence; therefore I intend not to go to town, till I make trial of the disposition of the members. There is

no business of great importance that requires the council's meeting; and I think, its diets can be disappointed till I go in, if the delay be not long.

This is in all duty and submission from, &c.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Polwarth House,
Tuesday, Oct. 24th, 1699.

The business of the Scots colony makes things difficult with me. There is a very chagrin humor a-stir, and people vent it with much indiscretion. It is almost become a common talk, that the King has no kindness for Scotland, nor for any persons in it, and that it is uneasy to him even to have the secretaries with him speaking of our affairs. There is no doubt some, who pretend to know the King and the court more than others do, have hand in dispersing such base calumnious stories; they cannot rise in every head that talks them.

. . . . . It is clear enough, that some concerned in that company have very malicious designs against some of us; and it appears very plainly against the Viscount of Seafield, whom they will have thought to have been

upon the secret of a design against the company. No doubt he would not go alone, if they could find but so much umbrage against another, whom they hate as much, as that he had been at court about that time. But all this is nothing, if there were not too much ground to apprehend, that the evil design reaches much higher than any of us. I told your Lordship before, that the Treasurer Depute appeared a little fervent upon the colony's account. I now understand, that he was acting a prudent part, whereby to have greater weight in the council of the company.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Polwarth-House,
Saturday, Oct. 28th, 1699.

I wrote upon Wednesday last a full account of what the council of the Scots Company have been doing, and of the humor, that the news of the colony's disaster has produced. You may be assured, that I take all ways fit to appease it by the hands of such, who can converse more among the undertakers, than I can. The grounds I suggest to such, are, that whatever his Majesty's circumstances

in reference to England, and to the King of Spain, may have induced him to do, and whatever may have been the consequences of these proclamations, the blame of the business doth not fall there; for the council here, and directors, who, from the beginning seemed to understand, that the English were jealous of that settlement, ought never to have reckoned to have their colony provided from the English plantations; but to have sent both timeously, and as frequently as was possible to them. And certain it is, if that ship, which was ready to have gone in the end of February last, and which once they intended to set off, had been then dispatched and not kept back till Mr. Jamisone went, in all probability what has since happened would have been prevented. Besides, by the account that Mr. Mackay gave, these proclamations had taken little effect in the English plantations. I had appointed some to take notice of the 14th of October[1]; and the account I had was quite of another sort, than what it seems you have got. Among others Sir Gilbert Eliot writes, that he never saw that day freer of any marks of Jacobitism since the revolution. Albeit at first the bad news of the colony did occasion a very rude kind of humor, yet I find, that already, when people have taken time to reflect, and to converse together upon that subject, it is very much abated; and now when the directors have done all

[1] King James's birth-day.

they can to dispatch away two ships with provisions, with all diligence and speed, the generality of people begin to say, 'Time a-day such diligence 'would have done better before.' If this had been done in the beginning of February, the colony would have been saved. There is one Mr. Balfour, one of the undertakers, a Jacobite, upon whose account it was, and for managing of some profit to come to him, that the ship was delayed in February; and upon some little venting of this, the mob was speaking of pulling down his house, and, as I am informed, was with much ado diverted from it by some persons vindicating him as having no hand or blame in that matter. I see clearly, Scots natives cannot shake off the Scots nature; they are soon raised and incensed, before they take leisure to consider well. But when that is over, and that they do consider and examine matters, reason takes the place due to it. I hope and doubt not, but it shall be so now, and that all, who are not ill inclined to the government itself, will be brought to a reasonable part in a very short time.

The same to Viscount Seafield in waiting for this month.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House, Tuesday,
Nov. 7th, 1699.

It is strange to me, how it comes to be informed from here, that the late King's health is drunk openly and avowedly, or that any speak favorably of him, seeing there is no such thing in reality. The Jacobites are more cunning than to do so. The well affected, whom certainly they are designing to abuse, taking occasion of what has happened to the colony, would not bear that. The other act their part under a mask, and would pass for the national men, the true-hearted Scots, to rescue the nation from the hardships, which England would put upon it; and they seem to regret, that the King, whom they pretend to love as well as any does, should be brought under somewhat like necessity to comply with the English nation to the prejudice of this; and I am fully persuaded, that this is a dark work of theirs. They would have it believed, that many of this nation concerned in the American undertaking are so dissatisfied by what has happened, that they are turned Jacobite, which is abominably false; and their trick is already begun to be discovered. In the mean time, these politicians would pretend to be the composers and quieters of the minds of the

people, in doing whereof, God knows they have no hand. I have made, and am making, as several others here do, all the inquiry that can be, and can find nothing, but that one madman, well enough known, Mr. Andrew Darling[1], was heard to say to some little boys upon the street, 'Come, lads! let 'us go drink King James's health,' but had not a drop to give them; and there was no more of it.

The same to Mr. William Carstairs.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House, Tuesday,
Nov. 7th, 1699.

The King's birth-day was full of rejoicing here, as I have seen it any time.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House, Saturday,
Nov. 11th, 1699.

It is not easy to imagine what changes the humor of our people take all of a sudden. But I do observe, that the minds of this nation are so bent

[1] 'An outed minister.'—Letter to Lord Carmichael of the same date.

upon that undertaking, in which their colony is employed, that whenever by any accounts they get, they are brought to hope that these lately sent have repossessed the settlement, they are easy and good-natured; but upon any occasion, that seems to cross that hope, they turn ill-natured, and fall again to blame the proclamations, with other reflections in reference to the protection of their right, which is fitter for one to pretend not to have heard, than to take any further notice. I do verily believe, that a great many in this nation, even of persons well-affected to the government, will with an unaccountable frankness adventure a great part of the substance they have here, to support that so far distant project and undertaking . . . . . .

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The same to Mr. William Carstairs.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House, Tuesday,
Nov. 25th, 1699.

The stock and expence is indeed considerable; and they are many who are concerned as interested in the project; yet that is but a small thing in respect of the concern, which appears of persons of all ranks, and even of the meaner people, who are not particularly interested, and have no shares in

the stock, for supporting and prosecuting that undertaking. It is a thing scarcely to be imagined, I will assure you; any that would pretend here to persuade any body, that the following out of that design may prove a prejudice to this nation, would prevail nothing, but lose himself and carry the ill-will and disesteem almost of everybody. What the matter will turn to, the Lord knows; but from the first till now and still on so, there is such an earnestness and disposition towards that matter without any sparing either of their persons or purses, that every observer must think it wonderful.

The same to the Duke of Queensberry.

[Extract.]

December 2nd, 1699.

I have enough ado to keep myself from falling in disgrace with that company, which is little less than to say, falling in disgrace with the Scots nation, and so weakening my capacity of serving the Prince, that has saved the nation and entrusted me.

The same to Lord Carmichael [1].

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Wednesday,
December 6th, 1699.

When I wrote yesternight, I did not expect so soon to have the occasion for a flying packet; but this morning, before I went up to the Treasury, I went to repay the Duke of Hamilton his visit. He led me into a room, which was full of noblemen and gentlemen, of which the Lord President[2] of Council was one. After a very little common discourse, the Duke said to me, 'My Lord, some of the Lords 'here and I have been considering a humble address 'to his Majesty, signed by many of his faithful sub-'jects; and your Lordship may hear it.' . . .

. . . . . .

The Duke called for the paper, and Lord Basil read it. It began, 'We noblemen, barons, gentle-'men, &c.;' and went on narrating the concern of the nation in the African Company, and the address of their council, and his Majesty's return thereto, and desiring his Majesty, that the Parliament of Scotland may meet, as his Majesty has expressed in his answer, or to that purpose . . . . . .

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[1] One of the Secretaries of State for Scotland; created Earl of Hyndford in 1701.

[2] The Earl of Melville.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Tuesday,
December 19th, 1699.

As I told you in my latest, the Committee of Council were a good time together upon Saturday in the evening, to prepare a proclamation about the address; and, after much reasoning upon it, appointed my Lord Advocate to present to them a form upon Monday morning. When I got account next day of the reasonings in the Committee, and understood, that the Committee was of opinion, that the Council could not in law emit such a proclamation, as in my opinion would have strength enough to prevent subscriptions, I was in a great puzzle what I should do; yet in the first place I sent for some of the Lords of the Committee, and discoursed with them; but when I discerned plainly, that they were positive of opinion, that the Council could not in law prescribe the ways and methods of the subjects' petitioning; and that the methods, so far as they were known to them, are not such as the law doth reprobate, and so could not legally be prohibited, I became very clear in my own opinion, that such a proclamation, as they thought of,

was not fit to be published, and that it might do more hurt than good; and I began to wish in myself, that the counsellors would resolve, each of them, to dissipate the notice of his Majesty's dissatisfaction, as broad as they could, by their private pains, than to publish from the board a proclamation, which to many might seem weak and dubious . . . . .

. . . . . .

Upon the question stated, 'emit a proclamation,' or 'represent to the King,' it carried, 'emit a proclamation,' thirteen to ten. . . . . .

. . . . . .

It was moved, that the Council might adjourn, and meet again within two or three hours, and both think and discourse yet more upon the form of the proclamation; but some others did press so earnestly, that the question should be put, 'Approve 'of the draught brought in by the Committee, or 'not;' so that the rest condescended; and upon the question, the vote carried, 'Approve of the 'proclamation.' Your Lordship has here a printed copy of it.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Tuesday,
December 19th, 1699.

Even in this case and business, which has created us so much trouble and vexation, I am somewhat confident, that we should be so able to order things, as his Majesty's service should not meet with much stop. This is still supposed, that a competent time may be given for humors to cool a little in. Now, I must tell you, and take it from me to keep with yourself, I see evidently, and by clear tokens, that both you and I need to stand back to back, if we will be upon our guard; and I need not tell you, what we may expect from some of the addressing party, if they had power enough; but on the other hand, I am persuaded, there is greater danger; for the Earl of Annandale, and the Treasurer Depute are aiming with much earnestness to be upon our saddles. I know it so well, and upon so good ground, that I tell you not to doubt of it. The first has by several things of late run himself quite out of esteem; and, I am persuaded, will have less influence in a parliament, than any man of his parts that I know, but perhaps thinks that some things, which have mightily lessened him here, will recommend him, and augment his esteem there. As

for the other, he is indeed very wary, and studies much to keep up his interest with the parliament men. They are not quite at one betwixt themselves; but they are much closer drawn up than formerly. Consider what I say; and if you are as concerned for me there, as I am for you here, (of which you will find the effects in due time) then we have nothing to fear.—Adieu.

[Extract.]

Notes upon the Letter[1] to the Viscount of Seafield, of Tuesday, the 19th December, 1699.

The Lord Chancellor in the beginning told the rest, that they had a very nice affair in hand; that the carrying on of the address was such, as had given dissatisfaction to all their Lordships; and that the King had signified his dissatisfaction with the manner, and had appointed them to notify it, so as is consistent with law, to the lieges. Therefore, in conformity to his Majesty's letter, their Lordships were to take good notice, that what they did in this matter should well consist with the law, and with the subjects' right of petitioning the King, asserted in the Claim of Right, and which his Majesty had told them in his letter, he would never discourage, if done in an orderly and decent manner.

[1] The first of the two letters of that date addressed to Lord Seafield.

The same to Lord Carmichael.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Saturday,
December 23d, 1699.

The subscribing of the address goes on, and I cannot find that any are scared from it by the proclamation, but upon the contrary; for I am certainly informed, that some, who before were opposite to it, because of some jealousy they had of the motives and designs of those, who carry it on, have since subscribed to it. I must tell your Lordship, the subject of thinking, as doth evidently appear by what is all the matter of discourse here, is quite changed from that of the company and the colony, to that of the subjects' privilege and freedom of addressing to, and petitioning the King; and people express themselves jealously, (and you may easily guess who will promote this), as if there were a design to retrench that privilege; and because the emitting of the proclamation (which doth not relish well here) was carried by the votes of the Lord Polwarth, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, many, who have kindness for me, have much ado to persuade people, that I am not in that design. I am sure, there was never man more difficultly circumstanced, than I am. I am making all the inquiry, I

can, what occasioned the desertion from Darien; and by the whole information I get, it may appear to the conviction of any man; that if it had not been the smallness of the credit, and of the stock of money, which the managers of the Company had given to the colony, and the badness and scantiness of some of their provisions sent with them, and likewise the long delay of sending messages, acquainting them at least of the recruits and provisions which were a coming, the colony would not have deserted for all the noise the proclamations emitted in America made, and for all the effort they took in hindering them to get provision from those plantations. And, upon the other hand, if those proclamations, especially that in Jamaica, had not possessed them with the fear, that the whole business was broke in Scotland, and that the King was opposite to their undertaking, and had not stopped their getting provisions from the plantations, the colony would have waited, till they had heard from Scotland, and would have been able to have borne the difficulties they were under, and were in a ready disposition for to do it.

The same to Mr. Robert Pringle.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Dec. 23d, 1699.

I must pass the touching any thing you wrote of, but the matter of the Union. Some persons in the State here had got a while ago written to them much the same as you do to me. That made me apply myself a little to know the thoughts of the more intelligent and significant men; and, I can assure you, the thing would be very taking here; and I am confident, if such a thing came to be treated in terms any ways tolerable, it would find a ready concurrence of the far greater part of people of all ranks of this nation.

The same to Lord Carmichael.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Thursday,
December 28th, 1699.

I believe, his Majesty will not be hasty in taking his measures in this juncture; and I wish I knew, if it could be useful to his Majesty, or acceptable to

him, if his Privy Council should represent the condition of matters here with their opinion. It might perhaps give him a fair occasion of doing or saying something, which might appease the humor, that is at present too fervent in this nation, and break an egg (as we say) in the pocket of those who design ill. I suppose, there will be time enough for it, because it may be long before the copies of the address return from the remote parts of the country; and certainly, whatever his Majesty designs to do, will come as well in consequence of a representation and opinion from his Council, as in consequence of such an address.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Dec. 28th, 1699.

I am well informed, that there is a very odd sort of practising here. I cannot be so full and plain, as it is like I may be qualified to be before long. It seems to me, that some are hasty to rise at any vote. I must tell you, too, that some here are so violent (imagining, as I conceive, thereby to recommend themselves), that if others would be endured, they would stick little to fill prisons upon this same tender point of addressing and petitioning. But

others, who I think regard the King's honor and service, and the nation's quiet and peace as much as any, are far from their opinion. This I write to yourself, for I will hide nothing from you. And if the two, I wrote of before, were in your room and mine, I am persuaded, they could not carry so great an interest for the King's service in this parliament, nor in a new one, if we were to have another, as we would be able to do, though they are willing, and do in it, what they can, to lessen both your esteem and mine.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House,
Tuesday, Jan. 2d, 1700.

There is no man fit to be in my post, who has not understanding to judge of the motions made, and advices given, by the other statesmen to him. If I would have gone to some things, which others pressed me to, I am sure, I could not have answered for the bad consequences which would have ensued. We have a very tender point in hand; and if I should adventure upon prosecutions on ground not sustainable in law, that would be to open a pack, and sell no ware, for which I should certainly be blamed, and should have little excuse to plead.

The same to Lord Carmichael.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House,
Tuesday, Jan. 2d, 1700.

I heartily wish the King may give an answer as sweet and gentle as he may. It would quickly, I am confident, make a great and good change in this place, and would prevent, I hope, the sending of the other address, which is yet going on with less impediment from the proclamation than anybody could have expected. I shall add no more now, but wishing your Lordship a happy new year,

I am, &c.

The same to the Duke of Queensberry.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House,
Tuesday, Jan. 2d, 1700,

The King did set up together your Grace, the Earl of Argyle, my Lord Seafield, and myself. Among us were engagements, that have not failed, and I hope never will. The Earl of Annandale came in, you can remember how, and the Thesaurer

Depute; for my Lord Carmichael was not then much in the play. I must be free with your Grace, and, if you please, you may reckon upon it. I am what and where I was; and I am confident you three are so. But for my Lord Annandale and the Thesaurer Depute, I must say, I either understand them not at all, or I understand them too well.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Jan. 9th, 1700.

I have been, and am as careful as I can, and as diligent in the affair we have in hand; and in particular I have a watchful eye towards the army and their officers.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House, Feb. 27th, 1700.

Sir,

Since the beginning of November last there hath been so high a humor here occasioned by the

trading company, and those concerned in it, and for it, that I have been in great difficulty, how to order my carriage as was necessary at the present, and might be hereafter useful for your Majesty's service. Since your Majesty was settled upon the throne, I did not imagine that your servants could have met with anything, that would render your service here so hard to be advantageously managed, as it has been this winter, and is likely to be this summer ensuing. I wrote from time to time to the secretaries every material thing that happened here, of which no doubt they would acquaint your Majesty; but I wrote none to your Majesty, because I could not possibly form a judgment of matters, or give an opinion, such as I could invite your Majesty to reckon upon. I cannot but be sensible, that they, whose business it is to advise your Majesty, are, and may be, in a very great strait what to advise you, and that your Majesty may be put to a hard and difficult choice, whether to give way to the earnest inclination of a people, and allow them to follow a course, which, as matters now stand, may bring upon them an expence, which they are not able to sustain, and many dangerous incumbrances, and whereby your Majesty's whole affairs and alliances in Europe may be embroiled and disturbed, while it is in your Majesty's power to prevent such sad and heavy consequences; or whether in preventing of them your Majesty can admit, that this country be laid open and naked to the designs of

enemies both at home and abroad. To find a middle way, which can be reduced to practice, is, I am sure, what will much puzzle all of your Majesty's counsellors, who know the condition of this country.

My great endeavour has been to allay the humors here, and to make all the discoveries possible for me, which required both diligence, skill, and caution; and, I believe, I have had a success in it, full as great as any other can pretend to, both in reference to designs, and the promoters of them. Yet I dare not adventure to offer my advice to your Majesty, nor can I possibly determine my own judgment, till both I try farther here, and have opportunity to reason with your Majesty, and such there, as are capable to discern. I have long hoped and wished your Majesty's coming to Scotland; and I still expected, when that time came, to shew your Majesty good effects of my ten years labors in courting an interest with this parliament and people, by having a good hand in their giving some eminent and generous token of their gratitude and love to your Majesty. Whether there will be a fit opportunity for that, when the parliament meets, or not, I cannot yet determine; but before the month of March end, I hope, I shall be able to give your Majesty an account what may be expected from this parliament, and what not.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House,
Sunday, June 2d, 1700.

Sir,

Your Majesty's secretary will give an account in what manner matters have gone here, and are come to such a condition as was not expected. It was thought necessary by my Lord Commissioner[1], and those, with whom he advised business, that both secretaries should come up. But the Lord Carmichael was not able to perform the journey in so short a time. My Lord Seafield knows the opinion in this juncture of your Majesty's servants in the government, who were at one in their sentiments. The two Earls, who are come up, (whose assistance, while they are absent, will be much wanted) have the same to say as the secretary; for indeed we were all of one opinion. In this only I differed from some others upon the supposition, which I wish may never happen, though it is possible, that your Majesty should withhold your royal assent from any votes, that may carry in parliament. Some think it is much the same thing, if it be done by your Majesty in person present, or by a commissioner in your absence. But in my

[1] The Duke of Queensberry.

opinion, there is a great difference on many considerations so obvious, as they cannot escape your Majesty's noticing.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House,
Thursday, June 20th, 1700.

Sir,

Your Majesty's commissioner having called your officers of state, and some others of your servants together, upon the letters which he had got from your Majesty, and heard their opinion of their contents, has given your Majesty an account thereof, wherein all of them came to an agreement, in the terms of the paper sent to your Majesty. But I must tell your Majesty, that though I was brought over to join with the sentiments of the rest, as to the way of adjourning the parliament by your Majesty's order to your Privy Council for that effect, and the having a declaration published afterwards, for satisfying the nation of, your Majesty's reasons for the adjournment, yet my first opinion was, upon very serious considering of the matter, that we should send a scroll of a letter from your Majesty to the parliament, in such terms as are

clearly justifiable in law, and no otherwise, lest we should lead your Majesty into an inconvenience; that in the letter your Majesty, having had an account from your commissioner of a motion made proposing that Resolve about the Scots settlement in Darien, might be pleased to give your reasons against it, as strong as the subject-matter can afford, which I think are fully expressed in the former letter, which had not been presented in parliament; that when such a letter is read, and insisted upon by your servants in the House, and likewise the prejudice, which the nation shall sustain by not having these things done, which your Majesty intends for the benefit of the kingdom, being fully explained by them, it may be, that these men of the addressers, who have ever given proof of their good affection to your Majesty, who are near to forty in number, may be convinced, so as to separate from the rest as to the matter of the Resolve proposed. After all, I believe, no man can undertake that it will so happen; and after the surprising disappointments, which I have met with here, I can say no farther, than that I am hopeful such a method of doing may prevail. But if it does not, my judgment is, that the method I now speak of would make them very inexcusable, and probably have an influence upon the body of the nation. If notwithstanding your Majesty's reasons, and all that can be said, the House will proceed to a vote upon the Resolve proposed, and do carry it, your Majesty can withhold your assent, if you are so determined;

and then a declaration by your Majesty and council might come, and be emitted to as good purpose, as to have it done after an adjournment by an act of council without the parliament's meeting. I am afraid, that if the parliament be adjourned by your Majesty's act of council, and a declaration of reasons published at the same time, the best affected of the addressers may object, 'why were not these reasons explained in open parliament, where there might have been an occasion for the members to act according to their conviction? but now the parliament is adjourned, and the King's opinion, with his reasons, published, when there is no opportunity for the members to act according to what influence and impressions they might make upon their understandings.' It is very likely, that this will follow upon any adjournment by act of council; and I thought it my duty to represent these thoughts to your Majesty, though I have been induced to go into the opinion, which the greater part of those, your commissioner advised with, concluded upon.

I am, &c.

The same to Mr. Robert Pringle.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House, Saturday,
June 22d, 1700.

Upon Thursday night last there fell out a very insolent and violent rabble in this city. The occasion was, some news come of an advantage the Scots had got against the Spaniards in Darien, which did put the people in a very frolic humor. In the evening some did put illuminations in their windows with 'Caledonia' in great characters. The rabble rose and made themselves masters of the Netherbow Port, fell a-breaking the windows, where there were no illuminations, beat off and commanded the guard within the town, who came to resist them. They broke down in great madness many windows, especially those of the houses of the President of Council, the Lord Seafield, the Lord Carmichael, the Lord Thesaurer Depute, the Lord Provost, and some others of the magistrates; and in short all in the Fore street, who did not save them by putting up illuminations. They invaded my Lord Advocate's house, and constrained him to sign warrants to liberate from prison Patterson and Watson, who had been committed for printing and dispersing pamphlets. But this did not serve their turn; they would not make use of those warrants, but saying

they would end as they had begun, went and broke up the doors of the Tolbooth, and dismissed the prisoners, and set some of them without the Netherbow Port, others without other ports, and bid them shift for themselves. In the resistance made some were killed, several grievously wounded; in particular John Giels, a merchant captain, who commanded the guard in the town, and Ensign Pringle and several of the guard are sore wounded. This continued a great part of the night. Next day the commissioner called the council in the council-chamber; and now we are going on giving orders for securing the peace in the city, and for discovering those concerned in the rabble; but, by such as have been examined yet, there is no discovery made, which to me is very strange.

The same to the King.

Holyrood-House, Thursday,
June 27th, 1700.

Sir,

The accounts here of your Majesty's intention to go shortly into Holland give occasion to various conjectures and discourses among the people. Your Majesty's commissioner and your other servants in the government, as well as I, are hearing of them

daily; and as I converse with the statesmen here, I find them regretting, that your Majesty's affairs should require your being beyond sea at this time. All of them think, that your Majesty's service is likely to go the worse in this country. It is hard for anybody to judge of your Majesty's motives, who are not privy to them all; and none here do pretend to dive further in the matter, than in so far as concerns your Majesty's service in this place, of which they may have some prospect, and view to them pretty clear; and all of them, who speak to me, say, that if it be consistent with the posture of your Majesty's other affairs, it would be an advantage to these in this kingdom in particular, that your Majesty go not beyond sea this summer, in which probably these things, which are now uneasy and troublesome here, might be brought to a composure, and in some better order. The commissioner, and some others, who are of the same opinion, will, it is like, write so to your Majesty, or your secretary. However, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Majesty of what I meet with here, as I shall still endeavor to do all I may do faithfully, to give proof that I am, &c.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House, Friday,
July 19th, 1700.

The party is promoting a new address, and with it a resolve, whereof I send your Majesty a copy, to which they engage whom they can by parole. The council has published a proclamation against it; and it is certainly a league or combination contrary to law, and punishable by the council.

It is talked here, that some tell your Majesty that my way is too soft and gentle for such a time; but if ever I have the happiness to see your Majesty, I will convince you of the prudence of my part, and that they, who say so of me, have not considered the condition of affairs here, and of your Majesty's service, so reasonably as I have done. I must only add, that seeing the harvest will be so late here, if the parliament meet before the end of October, it will be ill convened except it be of the party.

Patrick Earl of Marchmont to Mr. Robert Pringle.

Holyrood-House, Saturday,
Nov. 19th, 1700.

We have hitherto had a contentious and hot session; I never saw the like; the opposing party is

strong and bold; no doubt you will get the minutes of what is done. The first discriminating vote was upon Saturday, the 2d instant, which was carried upon our side by one vote; and if Sir Robert Stuart, burgess for North Berwick, who had been ill, had not come in in the time of the debate, the question had come to my casting vote. Yesterday we had long and warm reasoning, whether the House should begin to digest such advantageous laws for the nation's advantage, as we were likely not to differ much upon, and to which we had ground, from his Majesty's letter, to expect the royal assent; or if we should go upon the Caledonia business. And when the question was much pressed to be put, it was craved and long stuck to, that a particular day should be set for going upon that business, and that of a short distance. After much wrangling, a resolve, which had been offered by the president of the session, whereof the copy is inclosed, being again read, the question was put, 'Appoint a fixed 'day for the Caledonia business,' or 'Vote upon the 'resolve;' and it was carried by thirty-one votes to vote upon the resolve. Then upon the question, 'Approve the resolve' or 'not,' it carried 'Approve,' without contradiction. That day's work, I hope, has much encouraged our side; and it is likely we have seen the strongest effort the opposing party can make. The committees are all two to one of our side; and I expect that business will now go quickly on.

Memorial sent to the King.

Holyrood-House, Nov. 25th, 1700.

The act for preventing the growth of popery, of which the commissioner no doubt has sent a copy to the King, was much desired by the best affected people, and by the ministers; and being preferred by a resolve of parliament, his Majesty's servants were earnest enough to get it passed soon, that the House might be free to proceed to what concerns the security and defence of the kingdom. The cross party appeared concerned to have the act made very severe, but withal were earnest to gain much time before it should pass.

Upon Monday, the 18th, the act was approved. There are some things in it, which the Chancellor was not at all pleased of, and reasoned against in the Committee, but could not prevail.

Memorial to the King's Majesty from his Chancellor of Scotland.

[Extract.]

Tuesday, Nov. 26th, 1700.

This day there was much debate in the House upon the act against wrongous imprisonment and undue delays of trial. It was in end carried, that

wrongous committers to prison should be punishable by fines according to the ranks and degrees of the persons so imprisoned, without abatement or defalcation, &c. . . . . .

. . . . . .

An exception from the act is likewise carried; that in case of imminent, or actual insurrection in the kingdom, or of invasion, his Majesty's council have power as formerly to cognosce upon the danger and appearance of insurrection or invasion; and any five of their number to issue out warrants for apprehending and securing in prison such persons, as they suspect to be concerned. The King's servants look upon these as great points gained, and are now in better hopes, that other things, which may come before them, may be brought to a good issue.

Patrick Earl of Marchmont to Mr. Robert Pringle.

[Extract.]

Holyrood House,
Thursday, Dec. 26th, 1700.

There is much time spent, for the least thing, that comes before the House, is much discoursed upon, and it is scarcely to be imagined with what difficulty any debate is brought to a question. . .

. . . . . .

I must tell you, I am sorry at the heart for the

change which I discern of many, who, I think, are honest at the bottom, yet are so unfortunate as to be led off to serve the ends of others, with whom they are gone in party, which I am jealous of in the highest degree.

The same to Mr. Robert Pringle.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House,
Thursday, Jan. 9th, 1701.

Tuesday, the 7th, No. 36, was a long *sederunt*, the hottest, most contentious, and disorderly, that ever I saw; and I wish and hope never to see the like. Sometimes most part of the members were upon their feet and speaking together; and it was hardly possible for me to get them composed, though the commissioner did interpose, and spoke what ought to have satisfied at the first hearing. There was no possibility of satisfying in the stating of a question upon two controverted states; but in end, when all were wearied out with debating and repeating, the motion was made as in the minutes, which was agreed to. This day we had a very calm *sederunt*, and not too long, for there was no reasoning or debating at all; all the time was spent in reading petitions. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Then were presented and read petitions from several shires and burghs, not all of one tenor, but some of them very coarsely expressed, but all agreeing to crave the support of the company, and the asserting its right to the colony, and desiring a diminution of the troops, and an ease of the taxes. The reading of these took up several hours.

The same to Mr. Robert Pringle.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House,
Thursday, Feb. 6th, 1701.

In the debates of this day, there passed many odd and bitter expressions. At last the Commissioner made his speech, and fairly laid the blame where it ought to lie. There were protesting and counter-protesting, as you see in the minutes of that day, till the Commissioner's grace ordered me to adjourn the parliament till Tuesday, the 6th of May. It will be hard enough for any, who had not been present with us, to believe the heat, clamor, and contention, which have accompanied this session from first to last. But I must say, the King's servants did what they could; and I am sure, I have had a more difficult and burthensome post, than any who has been in my station in the last century, of which very many are sensible.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House,
Thursday, Feb. 27th, 1701.

If anything should arise, or, be attempted, in this country, we are ill provided every way; and the worst affected are in the best posture.

The same to Viscount Seafield.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House, March 25th, 1701.

I send your Lordship here a signature in favor of a young gentleman, a near cousin of mine, George Hume of Argatie; the gift of whose ward and marriage I formerly got from his Majesty. The use I made of it was, to settle the business of the family, so as there may be a remembrance of it being a branch of my house. His ancestors had once a better estate; but it is now reduced to a small matter. The family has ever been honest and loyal, but made great loss, and contracted much debt, by their close adherence to King Charles the

First. If your Lordship take care of this, and despatch it, I will take it very kindly. The docket is within the signature.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House,
Saturday, April 19th, 1701.

A piece of news, which comes to me in discourse from many, though I hear nothing of it from any of your Majesty's servants in the state, made me resolve to write to your Majesty about it. It is, that your Majesty has been pleased to put off some, who have been in your service, particularly Sir Patrick Hume, from being your solicitor, which I cannot easily believe, knowing him to be as able for that post as any who can be employed, and that he has acted diligently and exactly in it, which, I think, nobody can contradict. Besides that, he has been useful to me in your Majesty's service, so as, I am sure, would please your Majesty, when I have an opportunity of telling particulars. It has never been your Majesty's custom to let your servants fall in disgrace, if they are fit for their employments, without some evident miscarriage, which certainly has been a prudent and gracious way, which your

Majesty has always followed. I heartily wish, that Sir Patrick be not the first example of the contrary.

. . . . . .

If I were now by your Majesty, to tell you a thought of mine about your service here, and your servants, I think it would move you to laugh, if you are never so serious; but hoping to see a fitter time,

I subscribe myself, &c.

The same to Lady Polwarth[1].

Polwarth-House,
Wednesday, Sept. 10th, 1701.

My dear Betty,

As you are very seldom out of my thought, so I have been thinking of the converse we had together last Lord's day, which, if I could have staid there, I would have endeavoured to have prosecuted further. And albeit you have understanding friends about you, who, by the blessing of God, may be assisting to you for your comfort upon the subject we discoursed of, yet I could not forbear to write this to you, that when you are thinking and meditating of such so necessary things, you may be helped to do it with the better ease, and to the greater advantage.

[1] Daughter of Sir John Hume, head of the Irish branch of the family. She was dangerously ill, when this letter was written, and died on the 11th of the month of December following.

All of us know, that we are tending to an everlasting state, either of salvation, or of perdition; and we are taught by the scriptures of truth, what these two quite different states shall be. Our great business in this life is to attain to the former, and to escape the latter. And it is the interest of all to examine well the way in which they go; but especially, when the Lord sends sickness, or any affliction upon us, we are to take it as an alarm from God, calling us to bethink ourselves, and to consider our way, and whither it tends.

The Lord our Saviour tells us (Matt. vii. 14), 'Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which 'leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.' They are few in comparison of that great multitude descended from Adam and Eve, our first parents; yet they are a very great number, for (Rev. xxi. 24) they are called, 'the nations of them which are 'saved;' and (Rev. vii. 9) they are called, 'a great 'multitude, which no man could number, of all 'nations and kindreds,' &c. But whatever the number shall be, we know, and are assured, that whosoever believes on the Lord Jesus Christ shall be saved (Acts xvi. 31, and x. 43). As to this narrow way, which leadeth into life, our Lord and Saviour tells us (John xiv. 6), 'I am the way, and 'the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the 'Father but by me.' So it is plain, that faith, and believing in Jesus Christ, is the only and infallible way to salvation. The apostle Paul shews us,

(1 Cor. xiii. 13) of three abiding graces, faith, hope, and charity; these do still possess the heart of every one, that walks in that way. And our Lord (Mark i. 15) bids us, 'Repent ye, and believe the Gospel.' And the apostle Peter (Acts ii. 38) presseth repentance for the remission of sins. And we find, through the whole New Testament, that the graces of faith, hope, love or charity, and repentance, are commended to us, and commanded, as without which there is no attaining to salvation.

It is of unspeakable consolation to us to know, that the eternal God has been pleased to magnify his mercy above all his works. The proof of this is, that he gave his Son to die for us, upon whom whosoever believeth shall not perish, but have everlasting life. And it is required of us, that we act and exercise, as God shall enable us, the graces above named. Not that by so doing we do or can merit and deserve at the hands of the Father. No other, save Christ Jesus, did or could deserve. But these graces, which are free gifts of God to us, are what we must walk in by his appointment towards the kingdom of rest and glory. We are by all means to examine and try, if these graces be real, true, and sincere in us, whereof even our own consciences, as God's witness within us, can make the trial by the help of the law of the Lord revealed in the Scriptures, whereunto we look as into a glass to shew us the features and lineaments of our souls, spirits, and hearts, and the spots which may be upon them.

Our faith must be unfeigned, excluding unbelief, and fighting against the assaults of it. Our hope must be lively, and fighting against the assaults of fear. Our love must be honest and sincere, still fighting against the assaults of malice, envy, and wrath. Our repentance must be true and hearty, admitting no exception of any lust or sort of wickedness, till God shall give us a complete victory over the devil, the world, and the flesh, sin, and death.

We are sure that the merciful God regardeth and accepteth the sincerity of these graces, which he bestoweth upon us; and we are not allowed to limit the mercy of God by the measure of these graces in us, knowing that he will not quench the smoking flax, though it rises not to a flame; that he will not break the bruised reed, though never so weak; but will bring forth judgment unto truth (Isa. xlii. 3). Two things we are especially to guard against. The one is, in case (our own consciences being the judges) we find the afore-mentioned graces of faith or believing, hope, love or charity, and repentance or remorse, to be strong and vigorous in us, we be not proud of them, as if they were of ourselves, but humble in thankfulness to the Lord, who has bestowed them, and planted them in us. The other is, if we find them in our opinion weak and faint, that we presume not to measure the mercies of God to us by the little esteem we may have of the measures which, we conceive, we possess of these graces, but

that we may still be earnest in prayer to God for increasing them in us; for we know, that as the smallest dwarf that ever was born is altogether a man as well as Goliath the giant was, so the measures and stature of the graces, which God bestows upon us, are very consistent with the reality of their life and being, and that the Lord, who gave them, will make them grow up by his blessing upon them; so as 'whether we live, we may live unto the Lord, 'and whether we die, we may die unto the Lord, 'and whether we live, or die, we may be the Lord's, 'seeing to this end Christ hath died and rose and 'revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead 'and living, as it is written' (Rom. xiv. 8—9).

The honesty and sincerity of our hearts, which the Lord especially regardeth, and which he alone worketh in us by his Holy Spirit, are what we are ever to pray for, and to be examining with all care. I shall, before it be long, offer you some rules from the Scriptures, whereby to examine the truth and sincerity of these graces above-mentioned; and shall add no more now, but praying the Lord to bless to you the means of your soul's comfort, and of the recovery from your sickness to a strength of body, that you may yet serve and praise God in the land of the living. I remain your very loving father, &c.

The same to the same.

Polwarth-House, Sunday,
Sept. 14th, 1701.

My dear Betty,

I am persuaded, no news could have made me more joyful, than what I got from my wife yesternight in her letter, shewing me, that you appear to be better than you had been of many days before; that you rest better in the night, and cough less; for it has revived my fainting hope concerning you, that the Lord will grant a return of comfort to the suits put up for you, and grant you recovery to health. Let us pray, and wait for God's goodness, having our wills always resigned to his holy will. This makes sure work. If you are able with help to walk upon the floor, not long at a time, but frequently, and stretch your body and joints, I think, it will be an advantage to you.

Now to make good what I promised in my former letter (which perhaps you will read oftener than once), I shall give you some thoughts of mine grounded upon the Scriptures concerning these four principal graces, which are really to be found in some measure, as the Lord disperseth them in the heart of every one, whose goings are established in that happy way, which leads to life everlasting, and the endless enjoyment of the eternal God. Faith is called (Heb. xi. 1) 'The substance of things

'hoped for, the evidence of things not seen;' that is to say, it is a grace, whereby we are fully persuaded of the reality of the things which we believe, and also are convinced, that God will perform his promises made to us in the Gospel. It is a grace whereof the Lord Jesus is both 'the author, or beginner in us, and likewise the finisher,' as (Heb. xii. 2) 'he of his mercy plants it in the soul, and he of his mercy makes it to grow.' It is a grace without which it is impossible to please God, 'for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, 'and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently 'seek him' (Heb. xi. 6). There are several marks of true and unfeigned faith. One is, 'that it will purify the heart,' as Acts xv. 9. Another is, 'that it 'will work by love' (Gal. v. 6); and many more you can find in your reading the epistles in the New Testament; but I shall give you one for all. True faith is a fructifying grace; it will bring forth fruit (if it be a lovely plant in the soul) to the glory of God; or, if it do not bring forth fruit, it is dead, and will signify nothing, (as Ja. ii. 26), 'for as the 'body without the spirit or breath is dead, so faith 'without works is dead also.' The fruit, which it must bear, is obedience to the law of the Lord, which consists in doing and performing what he has commanded us, and in forbearing and refraining from what he has forbid to us. It is most certain, that we are not able to give complete and exact obedience to the law of the Lord; and though we could

and did, 'we are still to God unprofitable servants,' as our Lord tells us (Luke xvii. 10), and cannot merit or deserve the heavenly inheritance. But if by the grace of God our consciences witness to us, that we have wills inclined, and that we do honestly our best endeavor, and in so doing believe in Jesus Christ, who has given complete obedience, and made complete satisfaction for our failings of obedience, which will be imputed to all that believe, then our faith is good, and by the return of God to our hearty prayers will certainly be increased, till it be perfected in glory. Hope is a comfortable grace, and a very natural consequence of saving faith, insomuch as Paul says (Rom. viii. 24) 'that by 'hope we are saved.' Certainly none, who walk in the way to salvation, are destitute of some measure of it. It is of things not in our possession, and unseen save by the eye of faith,—things in expectation, and which we with patience wait for. It is a great mark of the reality and sincerity of our hope, if it is accompanied with patience (as in the 25th verse of that chapter). Another is, if the object of it be the things laid up for us in heaven (as Col. i. 5). It must be in the Lord Jesus Christ still with patience (as 1 Thes. i. 3). Another mark of its sincerity is, if it purify the heart and life of the person, as (1 John iii. 3), 'every man that hath this hope 'in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure.' Another is, if it makes us sober (as 1 Pet. i. 13). Sobriety indeed is a great attainment, and strikes at

many of the lusts, which trouble the soul and mind. Another mark is joy (as Rom. v. 2); and truly a sincere hope, if strong too, cannot but produce joy.

Love or charity is an eminent grace. Paul calls it (1 Cor. xiii. 13) the greatest of the three there compared; yet its foundation is faith and hope; they in sincerity cannot miss to produce love. Our Lord calls it the first and great commandment, and the second too (Matth. xxii. 38, 39). The great mark of trial of this grace you have (John xiv. 15), 'if 'ye love me, keep my commandments;' and (xv. 10, and John v. 3) 'for this is the love of God, that 'we keep his commandments; and his command-'ments are not grievous.' This carries a self-evidence in it, that true and sincere love is a great ground of obedience. Whom we believe in, and of whom we hope for great benefits, we can hardly miss to love ardently; and when we love ardently, we will be apt to obey. But still we must remember, that we are not sufficient of ourselves to think anything, as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God (2 Cor. iii. 5). And our Lord tells us (John xv. 5), that without him we can do nothing, much less to believe, hope, and love savingly.

Another mark of sincere love is written in John iv. 18: 'There is no fear in love; but perfect 'love 'casteth out fear.' We are sensible, that what we love, and affect much, will make us undergo great difficulties, dangers, and losses, to obtain the enjoy-

ment of it; and whosoever loves the Lord Jesus perfectly, will be satisfied and resolute to forego, and be deprived of all the enjoyments of this life, and of life itself, rather than to fail of the everlasting enjoyment of the Lord, the object of their love. Observe diligently what Paul writes, Phil. iii. 7, and the following verses.

Repentance is a natural and a necessary consequence of the three former graces. No sooner do we believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, hope for his mercy, and love him so as to endeavor honestly to keep his commandments, but we are led by his spirit to bethink ourselves, what we have been, or are doing. We soon find, that we have been great neglecters, and are guilty transgressors, for which he works a hearty grief and sorrow in us; and 'godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not 'to be repented of' (2 Cor. vii. 10). And we see in the following verse, what be the products of it. The only sufficient mark of true repentance is amendment of life (Ez. xiv. 6); 'thus, saith the 'Lord, repent, and turn yourselves from your idols, 'and turn away your faces from all your abomina-'tions;' and (xviii. 30) 'repent and turn your-'selves from all your transgressions; so iniquity 'shall not be your ruin' (Matth. iii. 2, 8, 10; and Acts xxvi. 20). We are taught to repent, and turn to God, and to do works meet for repentance. I know many are apt to be afraid, that their grief and sorrow for sin are not deep enough; and it is no

wonder that such be their fear, considering the guilt of our sins, and the danger we are in by it; but I am sure, that whatever be the degree of the grief as to feeling sense, yet, if it be that godly sorrow which brings repentance, and the fruit with it of amendment of life, hearty resolution, and honest endeavour to obey the law of the Lord, we may safely rely upon that proof and evidence of its sincerity, and be assured, that God in his mercy will make up what is wanting, he, who worketh in us both to will, and to do, of his good pleasure (as Phil. ii. 3). It is very observable, that the Lord has so linked those necessary graces together, that every one of them is a proof and evidence of the truth and sincerity of the other. It may happen, that a poor sinner have a more sensible feeling of one of them than of another. It is good to examine well by the mirror of the Scriptures that same, whereof we think we have the clearest sense; and if we find ourselves well founded there, it is a great argument, that the rest are likewise in us, though not so apparent to our comfort; but if we are diligent and fervent in prayer to God, he will blow up the smoking flax, and make it flame; and the plants, which God hath planted, will certainly prosper and fructify, seeing the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared, teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appear-

ing of the great God, and our Saviour, Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works, who will grant unto us, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his spirit in the inner man, that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith; that we, being rooted and grounded in love, may be enabled to comprehend, with all saints, what is the breadth and length, and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that we may be filled with all the fulness of God.

Besides these marks of sincerity of the particular graces above-named, there is a great and general mark, or evidence, of the truth and reality of all them given (Rom. viii. 6); 'not to be carnally 'minded, which is death; but to be spiritually 'minded, which is life and peace.' To be carnally minded is no other than to take pleasure in, and to follow the works of the flesh, which are manifest (as Gal. v. 19, 20, 21); and to be spiritually minded is to bring forth the fruits of the spirit mentioned (v. 22, &c., of that chapter). And we are still to remember, and to be fully persuaded of it, that whatsoever a man soweth, that he shall also reap; for he that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting (Gal. vi. 7, 8).

Now, my dear heart, I hope these notes may, by the blessing of God, be useful to you in your medi-

tation; and I hope the Lord shall restore you to health, that you may put me in remembrance of these, and the like things, when weakness of body and mind shall come upon me, that I will stand in greatest need of comfort from them. I pray, the Lord's presence and mercy may be ever with you; and I remain your very loving father, &c.

The same to Mr. Robert Pringle.

[Extract.]

Polwarth-House,
Monday, Sept. 15th, 1701.

I never had my health better than since January last, that I went out of the sixtieth year of my age. I have been a full month in the country riding about, and now get hunting and hawking, which diverts me, and, I think, does me good.

The same to the King.

[Extract.]

Polwarth-House,
Wednesday, Oct. 22d, 1701.

The business of greatest weight, which I shall have to manage this winter, will be to cross and

counterwork, with all the skill and application I can, the designs, to me very evident, of those who labour to create and foment in the minds of the people disgusts and animosities against the English nation, which has a plain tendency, that is very inconsistent with the stability of the government, and with the interest and safety of this kingdom.

The same to Mr. William Carstairs.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House,
Tuesday, Nov. 11th, 1701.

I had the favor of your's of the 5th current, bearing the glad tidings of his Majesty's safe arrival and good health. I had not observed upon any the like former occasion more universal and discernible joy, than the news made here at this time. I am confident, many of the old Jacobite party are much cooled by the French King's owning the pretended Prince[1], and that it gets him few friends here.

[1] The son of James the Second, on his father's death.

The same to the King.

Holyrood-House,
Saturday, Jan. 24th, 1702.

Sir,

My present difficulties compel me to give your Majesty this trouble. Before I was your Chancellor, I was yearly paying off, with the help your Majesty made me, the debts which my former troubles had brought me under. But these five last years, I have every year increased my debt considerably; and it could not be otherwise: the rates of all things for keeping a house, so as I must keep one, having risen to very near the double of what they were formerly. There is not a year of these, that I have not borrowed for defraying my ordinary above five hundred pounds sterling, which is debt added to my former; and I have no way to pay it, now that what your Majesty allows me is not made effectual to me. I know not what to do. I have served your Majesty as faithfully as any has. I am able to do it, and I will still do it, whatever the condition of my fortune come to be, so long as I can keep the streets. I am very unwilling to complain; but necessity presses me. I entreat your Majesty to consider this, and to do what you think fit concerning, &c.

The same to Her Majesty Queen Anne.

Holyrood-House,
Saturday, March 14th, 1702.

Madam,

Seeing that the eternal God, the King of Kings, hath called to himself the most excellent King William[1], our late dear Sovereign, it is no wonder that the hearts of the subjects are filled with inexpressible grief, as that is of your Majesty's sorrowful servant, who can never live to forget him.

The same merciful God having afforded the most suitable and seasonable consolation, that could be hoped or wished for, in setting your Majesty upon the throne, I pray the Lord to establish your government, and to bless, guide, and preserve your person.

I had served the best King and kindest master that lived upon the earth, with all the fidelity and diligence I was able, these many years, wherein one of my greatest satisfactions was, that he was almost ten years younger than I.

Your Majesty has been pleased, very early, to show a trust of me, and to put an eminent honor

[1] King William died on the 8th of March, 1702.

upon me in appointing me to represent your sacred person and carry your royal authority, as commissioner to your general assembly of the Church. But the assembly being dissolved before the warrant came, I did acquaint the moderator and members of the commission of the assembly of your Majesty's care and concern, that the course of their affairs should not be interrupted, which was exceedingly satisfying and encouraging to them; and, I hope, the humble address which they have sent will be acceptable to your Majesty.

I beg leave to give your Majesty all possible assurance, that, according to the allegiance I have now sworn to your Majesty, and the ties you have put upon me of your gracious favor, I will serve your Majesty with all my might, in what you shall be pleased to employ me of any sort[1].

My trembling hand serves me not to write at this time so much; but I could not longer delay this small part of my duty, which, I hope, your Majesty will graciously accept from, &c.

[1] Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, retained his office of Chancellor on Queen Anne's accession.

The same to Queen Anne.

1702.

Madam,

By the letter to your Majesty from your Privy Council, your Majesty will discern, that the Lords of the Board here are of the same opinion with those of your Majesty's counsellors, who are with you, upon that question,—if your Majesty may, when you please, without derogating from the 17th Act of the 6th session of this current parliament, adjourn the same before it meet, after twenty days from the death of our late Sovereign Lord, to what time your Majesty thinks fit.

I thought it my duty, and necessary to acquaint your Majesty of what information I get of the minds and inclinations of many members of parliament, lawyers, and others, upon the point, and to tell your Majesty my thoughts and suspicions, so well as I can at this distance, that your Majesty may in your royal wisdom take such course as you think fit. I am informed, that many of the members of parliament, lawyers, and others, though they do acknowledge, that if once the parliament, after the twenty days, were met, your Majesty may adjourn it as soon and to what time you please, yet think, that it is absolutely necessary by the mentioned act, that it do meet at the time by the act appointed; and that if it be sooner adjourned, it is an infraction upon that

law which is so much valued and regarded by the subjects. I am likewise informed, that the members, or very many of them, will meet, or attempt to do it. If this should happen, I cannot reflect upon the heat which was in the last session, without suspicion, that if these, who offer to convene, be headed by the same persons they were in that session, great disorder may follow; and it is not easy to guess to what height it may go. But the preventing thereof effectually is much to be desired and endeavored. When your Majesty is determined, and signifies your pleasure to your council, and officers of state here, I shall assist what possibly I can to have your Majesty's commands put in due execution, as becometh, &c.[1]

The same to Mr. Robert Pringle.

[Extract.]

Polwarth-House,
Wednesday, April 15th, 1702.

Let me know in what esteem at court, and with the Queen, my English relations are; viz.—the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Hartington, that Duke's son, the Earl of

[1] This letter must have been written within a few days after King William's death.

Rutland, and the Lord Roos, his son, who married my Lord Russell's daughter; and if my Lady Russell, the Duke of Bedford's mother, goes to court.

The same to Mr. Robert Pringle.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House,
Saturday, June 13th, 1702.

We have been at much pains to prepare for the meeting of parliament. Upon the 9th current, when it met, prayers were no sooner ended, than the Duke of Hamilton offered to speak. I told him, that he was not to be heard till her Majesty's commission to her commissioner was read, and the House constituted. He would not be stopped, but said, that for eviting contests he had a paper to read, which he read, which imported a dissent from anything that should be acted; whereupon he took instruments. Some others adhered to the dissent, and took instruments; particularly the Earl of Selkirk. Then they withdrew, and several others, who had not taken instruments. They were in all, of the nobility, eighteen; of the commissioners for shires, twenty-four; of the commissioners for burghs, fifteen. When they were gone, the parliament proceeded in the

ordinary manner, and we are now one hundred and twenty, who adhere to do business. Yesterday five acts were passed, and touched with the sceptre; one recognizing her Majesty's sovereign authority; one declaring the present meeting of parliament to be a lawful and free meeting of parliament; one adjourning the session to the 1st of July; one for securing the true protestant religion, and presbyterian government; and one for a national fast, which were this day proclaimed, whereof no doubt the commissioner has sent copies.

Yesterday Broomhal was expelled the house by a vote *nemine contradicente* for saying, that some of the laws establishing presbyterian government contained things inconsistent with the essence of monarchy, which gave very great offence.

All the acts, we passed, were *nemine contradicente.* The house appointed the Committee of Security to call before them the whole Faculty of Advocates, upon an information, that the Dean of Faculty, by their order, had signed an address to the Queen, presented in their meeting by Sir John Areskine of Alva, and which contained things unwarrantable. This day they were called. We could not come by a copy of the paper; but we found, that of one hundred and forty-five in that Faculty, there were not above twenty, and these only young men of no note in the house, except Sir Patrick Hume and Mr. Ro: Bennet, the Dean of Faculty, who are concerned in that matter. These are enacted

to appear before the parliament on Tuesday. The withdrawers have been at great pains to get many hands to an address of persons, who are not of the house. And it is easy enough by pains to obtain hands of their particular friends and dependers, and others, who do not much consider what they are doing. I am hopeful, that necessary business will be done very unanimously, and so as will satisfy all modcrate people.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Queen.

July 1st, 1702.

Madam,

Because my hand doth not serve me to write much, I humbly present the inclosed memorial. Every part, I act, is with a sincere heart to your Majesty's service. I pray God, that your Majesty may soon embrace a son of your own; that would be a healing and composing blessing to this wavering nation. I am, &c.

Wednesday, July 1st, 1702.

Memorial concerning some proceeding in the Parliament of Scotland.

After the withdrawers from the parliament were gone away, and the house had passed an act, re-

cognising her Majesty's royal authority and some other acts, many of the members in conversing together without doors, considering her Majesty's letter to the parliament, and the nature of the addresses, which had been sent from the council and other courts, and from the shires and burghs of the kingdom, to his late Majesty, shewed an earnest inclination, that this parliament should give public evidence of a just resentment of the indignity offered by the French king to her Majesty and her people, in owning a pretender as king of her Majesty's kingdoms; considering likewise, that the parliament of England in the like just resentment, had appointed an oath of abjuration of that pretender to be taken in the terms, which the act[1] carries, many were of opinion, that, the association being now terminated, an oath of abjuration of that person pretending to the crown should be appointed to be taken by all such, as by law are obliged to take the oath of allegiance and assurance. So soon as it was discerned, that many of her Majesty's servants in the government, and many other members of the house were earnest for it, it was proposed to her Majesty's commissioner, who expressed very good inclination to it, and owned, that he was instructed to pass an act for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales. These, who were resolved to propose the matter in parliament, expecting then that

[1] The act 1. Queen Anne, stat. 1. ch. 22.; this act was passed immediately on her accession to the throne.

little difficulty could happen as to the abjuration, very willingly proceeded first to the act for the assessment, and to the act giving her Majesty the naming of commissioners to treat of an union, supposing that in these there might be more difficulty and division. While these things were a doing, some, who were opposite to the abjuration, had taken pains to influence the members against it; so that, after the other two acts were passed, the commissioner seemed to be apprehensive, that the proposing the abjuration might occasion too great division in the house, yet still declaring himself for the abjuration. He stated the question among those, he advised with, whether it were expedient to bring it into the house or not. The chancellor, with most of the officers of state, and others of her Majesty's servants, being very earnest, that it should be brought in, and very persuaded, that it would carry in the House, and get the authority of parliament for it, did declare plainly, that they would propose it, conceiving it to be absolutely necessary in this juncture for the support of her Majesty's government, and the security and honour of the kingdom. This occasioned much pains to her Majesty's commissioner laboring to bring up the opposers to a concurrence with those, who designed the abjuration. Several draughts and forms of it were presented, and discoursed upon in the commissioner's presence; but the parties could not agree. At length the commissioner shewed to the chancellor

a draught much in the terms of the English abjuration, and told him, that if he would be satisfied of that, and would use his best endeavors to bring the other lords and members of the House to agree to it, that his Grace was confident, he would bring the opposers to concur with them. The chancellor told his Grace, that he was satisfied of that draught, and would use his best endeavors to get all the others, who were for the abjuration, to be satisfied of that form. And upon trial he found it easy enough, for they were content, for preventing division, to agree to it, and to pass from other draughts, which they had liked better as being fuller and stronger. But when the commissioner had made trial among the opposers, he found his expectation disappointed; for they would by no means admit the word *abjure,* though they were willing upon oath to disclaim the pretender. This occasioned such a jealousy, as made the other stand peremptorily to have the word *abjure.* The chief argument the opposers advanced was, that the abjuration would obstruct the union; but the promoters of the abjuration could discern no weight in the argument, and could not see, how the disclaiming upon oath would be a lesser hindrance of the union than the abjuring. The opposers had tacked to their form of disclaiming the draught of an act, which, in the opinion of the promoters of the abjuration, is not agreeable to the settlement made upon the Claim of Right, and would change the nature of the

monarchy from hereditary in the protestant line to elective. This manner of treating made it evident, that the promoters of the abjuration, and the opposers, could not be brought to one, which occasioned the chancellor's presenting in parliament the abjuration upon Saturday, the 27th of June; and upon the question put, 'mark a first reading upon 'the Act;' or 'let it lie upon the table,' it was carried to 'mark.' The chancellor and several of the Queen's servants, and others of the nobility, having often told the commissioner, that they would insist to have the vote of the house, and being very confident to have carried it by many, were much surprised by the adjournment upon Tuesday the 30th, and do not think, that any division, that question could have made, was of much importance in comparison to the advantage of having that act of abjuration passed, well knowing the strength and value of the authority of parliament in this kingdom; and it already appears, that generally the best affected of the people are heartily sorry at the delay of it.

FOLLOWS THE OATH.

I, A. B. do truly and sincerely assert, acknowledge, and hereby solemnly declare before God and the world, that I am fully and thoroughly convinced and persuaded in my conscience, that our sovereign lady, Queen Anne, is the only lawful and rightful sovereigns of the realm of Scotland; and I do

solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be Prince of Scotland, commonly called the pretended Prince of Wales, during the life of the late King James, and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of King of Scotland, and her Majesty's other dominions, by the name of King James, hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm; and I do refuse, renounce, disclaim, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do swear, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to her Majesty, Queen Anne, and will defend her Majesty, and her government to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against her person, crown, dignity, or government. And I will do my best endeavor to disclose, and make known to her Majesty all treasons and conspiracies, which I shall know to be against her Majesty or her government. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge, promise, and swear, in the express words and terms hereof, and according to the plain and common sense and meaning of the words, without any equivocation or reservation whatsoever. And this recognition, acknowledgment, promise, abjuration, and renunciation I do heartily, willingly, and truly make upon the true faith of a Christian, and as God shall be merciful to me at the great day. So help me God.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Queen.

[Extract.]

Holyrood-House,
Saturday, July 11th, 1702.

It is my duty to conceal nothing from your Majesty, seeing you trust me. The aversion, some here have shewn to the abjuration, has raised in the minds of the multitude of the well affected such jealousy, as will not easily be removed, even of all who made any appearance against it. What is yet of a deeper consequence, it occasions great speculation, guessing and muttering, that the proceeding upon an act so evidently advantageous to your Majesty, and your government, did meet with a stop from the throne. I cannot forbear to tell your Majesty these things, having no new reckoning nor rest, but what is founded on your safety, prosperity, and favor, as, &c.

Sent to the Queen Saturday 11th July, 1702, by P. Earl of Marchmont in his Letter of that date.

Memorial concerning Affairs in Scotland.

Supposing, what is beyond doubt, that the passing in parliament the act for the abjuration would

be great security to her Majesty's government, whereof the well affected in Scotland are generally convinced, it appears to be indispensably necessary, that the parliament should meet upon the 18th of August, to which it is adjourned, to the end that act, which has had a first reading marked upon it, may be passed, for these reasons:—

1. It will pass without any difficulty. The Commissioner, the Chancellor, the Lord President of Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Secretary; three of the Lords of Thesaury, to wit, the Duke of Argyle, the Thesaurer Depute, and Mr. Francis Montgomery; the Lord Advocate; many of the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, viz. the Earls of Crawford, Buchan, Eglinton, Lauderdale, and Leven; the Lords Forbes and Jedburgh; and of gentlemen counsellors, Sir John Campbell of Aberuchill, Lord of Session, and Adam Drummond of Meginck; with many others of the nobility, barons, and burgesses, members of parliament, being earnest for it. And though it strangely happened, that most of the members of parliament, upon whom the Commissioner and the Earl of Seafield are known to have powerful influence, failed them, and did not vote for a first reading to be marked upon the act, yet nobody doubts, but upon voting the act itself would have been carried by a great plurality to approve it, and will be carried, if this parliament meet.

2. Being past, it will secure the next parliament as

well from Jacobites as from papists, who are equally dangerous to the government, for few, if any of them, will swallow down the word 'abjure.' The great joy, which was among the Jacobites by the adjournment of the parliament, was a clear proof of this; for indeed the abjuration is a terror to all of them, and will be to all of common honesty, be they never so rootedly Jacobite. But why those, who are in their hearts satisfied of her Majesty's title to the government, and have taken the allegiance and assurance, should now oppose the abjuration, is hard to be understood, seeing one of contradictory propositions must be true: if the Queen have a good title, the pretended prince has none; and if the pretended prince have a good title, the Queen and her progeny have none. There is no medium.

3. In three or four days' sitting this parliament will certainly pass the abjuration. But if it be dissolved, it may reasonably be doubted, if the next parliament can be got of such a set of men, as will be so hearty to it as this; for as many Jacobites, as can be induced to make use of that subterfuge, will take the assurance, being that it is against the pretended prince of Wales; and now, as they talk, there is no such person; and they do consider the person once so designed to be now King of Scotland. If this evasion do obtain, the next parliament may be a very odd one, and very unsafe for the Queen and kingdom.

4. If this parliament, after a few days' sitting, be dissolved, and a new one appointed to meet forty days thereafter (which is the time the law requires, in inditing of parliaments), the principal burghs of the kingdom, having at present a set of honest magistrates in the government, would not miss to choose well affected commissioners to the parliament; whereas, if their choosing parliament men be delayed till Michaelmas, which is the 29th of September, their choice cannot be so certain, for at Michaelmas they choose new magistrates; and there is little ground to reckon, that so well affected persons will come in the room of those, who now are in the magistracy; and consequently the election of members to parliament by them will be the more uncertain.

5. The shires of the kingdom choose annually by the law at their head courts immediately after Michaelmas commissioners to any parliament, that shall meet in the ensuing year. If the elections to be then made be of persons well affected to the government, the Queen by her prerogative royal can convene them, or adjourn, as her Majesty shall see expedient; and if the elections be doubtful, her Majesty can delay their meeting till another Michaelmas pass, at which time the shires can choose again; so there will be time enough for those, who are most concerned in her Majesty's service, and [the] security of her government, to bestir themselves.

Unless something, which is unforeseen, should happen, there will be no necessity of a parliament's meeting before February, 1704; and certainly it does require a time to compose the spirits and ferment moving in this country.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Seafield, High Chancellor of Scotland.

Holyrood-House,
Saturday, Nov. 21st, 1702.

My Lord,

I have your Lordship's letter of the 15th current, wherein you treat me, I acknowledge it, with the greatest civility and kindness. I am very well satisfied, that her Majesty bestows the place, I possessed, upon your Lordship; and I wish you much joy of it, as I hope her Majesty's service shall have an advantage. I am at some stand what to propose for myself, and the support of my family; but I am a-sending a gentleman, who will discourse with your Lordship of several things, I am not in freedom to write of. I know, that no man can support the character of that office, unless he have 3000*l.* a-year at least of the crown; and I assure you, you will find it so, of which I intend to acquaint her Majesty

in a letter by the gentleman I send, for I assure your Lordship, and can instruct it, that the emolument of the place has never been to me 2000*l.* a-year, and that one year with another my expence has never been under 3000*l.*, besides the super expence of 1100*l.*, which my being commissioner cost me necessarily beyond my allowances; for the whole nation knows, that I made no money nor anything profitable for myself or my family, save the public allowances. I payed money for the commissariot's place in Edinburgh for my two younger sons betwixt them; and money was paid for a way of livelihood to one of my daughters; and the 400*l.*, which I had of King William, of which I now want two terms by his Majesty's death, Whit Sunday, and Martinmas last, was his bounty to me, I do not reckon as profits of my office; yet I spent it wholly, besides the rents of my estate, in the necessary expence which attends that charge. I do think, that any man, who has carried honestly in public employment, may claim to have his expences borne; and if it shall not be so with me, however little I may complain, it will be generally thought, that I have reason to do it. My Lord, it will be seen of me, that change of station makes no change of the mind or of the man. I shall say no more now, but that I am, &c.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Queen.

Holyrood-House, Nov. 24th, 1702.

Madam,

I have had an intimation from the Duke of Queensberry, that your Majesty is resolved to employ the Earl of Seafield as your chancellor[1]. I am very well satisfied to be set free from so weighty a charge; and as he, whom your Majesty has pitched upon, is a very deserving person, so I am persuaded, he will serve your Majesty to your satisfaction; and for my part I will still serve your Majesty in my station and condition, as heartily as if I were yet chancellor. I have served in that station almost seven years the best I could, but have made nothing for myself. The whole emolument of my office never exceeded 2000*l.* a-year; and the necessary expence of living suitable in it, I have never one year with another been able to defray under 3000*l.* a-year; and I can assure your Majesty, my successor will find, that what he gets less for maintaining the dignity of that station, he must make it up of his own, if he lives suitable to his character. I go off poorer,

[1] Lord Marchmont's visible offence was his conduct respecting the act he brought in, for proposing an oath, abjuring the Pretender. Queen Anne's government, as Lockhart conjectures, was no doubt desirous of keeping the succession in Scotland open, as a check upon the Whigs and the House of Hanover. Other ministers however were dismissed at the same time with him; and a Scots ministry was formed more suited to the views and devious policy entertained by the court.

than when I entered to the office, but with this satisfaction, that I am able to appeal the whole nation to challenge me, if they can, of infidelity or negligence in my service to your Majesty and to the late King, or if I have acted unjustly or partially towards any of whatever principle or persuasion in the courts of justice, where I came, or if I have received a gift of any one, or if I have insulted any, or done what might tend to the alienating of any of the subjects from the good government they have been under. What notice your Majesty may think fit to take of me, I leave it to yourself. Your Majesty's favor or bounty to me will tend to the support of a family as well affected to your government, and as concerned for your prosperity, I will be bold to say, as any in the nation. And I am and shall be while I live, may it please your Majesty, &c.

Instructions from P. Earl of Marchmont to his son Sir Andrew Hume.

Nov. 24th, 1702.

Memorial for my son, Sir Andrew Hume, whereupon he is to converse with his Grace the Duke of Queensberry, and the Earl of Seafield, and which may be shewn to them only, and to no other. I think, both of them are inclined to do me a kindness.

You are to represent that after King William came to the throne his Majesty bestowed upon me a pension of 400*l.* sterling per annum, by the help of which I did yearly defray some part of the considerable debts my former troubles had brought upon me, albeit I made several journeys to London, and, when I was in Scotland, was almost constantly at Edinburgh attending public occasions, by which I was put to considerable expence.

At Whit Sunday 96, when the King made me his chancellor, I was obliged to borrow money, not being suitably provided of furniture and equipage fit for my station, and getting nothing of my salary till the Martinmass thereafter.

Since Whit Sunday 96, that I was chancellor, though I lived as parsimoniously, as any in my station could decently do, I expended yearly the whole emolument of my office, which never, one year with another, exceeded 2000*l.*, and besides that my 400*l.* pension, and the rents of my own estate, excepting what I bestowed upon the repairing of my house, to which I have taken five years time for my greater ease, and which in all doth not exceed 1000*l.*; and all the rest of my yearly income was not able to defray my necessary expence; but I was forced several times to borrow money, which is still a debt upon me.

In anno 98, when the King made me commissioner to his parliament, his Majesty gave me in all 5250*l.* sterling; and at the same time I had got

1100*l.* of my son's portion, which, with 400*l.* of my own money, I carried to London in the beginning of March; but that money, and what I got from the King, amounting together to 6750*l.*, was wholly expended upon my journies, equipage, and housekeeping, while commissioner in the time betwixt the 8th March, and the 2d September, 98. Yet there was nothing extravagant to be seen about me; and all the plate, I bought, was for 463*l.* Nothing of that money came to any use of mine, which can be judged lucrative, save 500*l.* which I payed to Cessnok[1] of my son Alexander's portion, and 130*l.* to another creditor; and, besides that, all I have been able to put to the fore has been 4000 merk Scots, which I payed to my Lord Whitehill for the place of a commissary in Edinburgh betwixt my two younger sons, and 6000 merks, a little more, which was of my money, to make up the 9000 merks which my wife gave for a way of living in the mint house for one of her daughters. I have not been able to pay a shilling of the portions of any of my children, other than what is mentioned above, but what I borrowed, and is now debt upon me. I bought lately a piece of land neighboring to me, because of a large moss it had, the mosses upon my own lands being wasted; but a great deal of the price is yet to pay: and upon the whole matter, I do indeed, considering the debt contracted

1 Alexander, second son of Patrick Earl of Marchmont was married to the daughter and heiress of Sir George Campbell of Cessnok.

since I was chancellor, go off from the place a poorer man, than when I entered upon it. I think, a person employed in the public service, which necessarily diverts any one from making the best of his own business, may justly pretend to have his expences borne at least, and his own means to go to the fore for his family. Besides, if a person be faithful and diligent, as I avow I have been to the utmost of my power, and is not guilty of oppression, injustice, bribery and insolency, of all which I defy the whole world to challenge me, it will readily be thought, that such a one merits some reasonable reward, to make family and domestic concerns the more easy; and I now want two terms, viz. Whit-Sunday and Martinmas last, of the 400*l.* pension, which is straitening to me, the Lords of Thesaury having given no precept for it, though I never doubted but her Majesty, who continued my commission, did continue that pension too.

I am able to instruct, that, since I was chancellor, I have spent of my own means upon the public service, upwards of 6000*l.* sterling, reckoning the 400*l.* pension, which the King had given me, long before I was Chancellor; and if there be not some way found effectively to make up my loss, my circumstances may be more difficult than I can well endure; and if I cannot live very comfortable according to my rank in Scotland, I must bethink myself where I can do it.

If her Majesty be persuaded to deal bountifully

with me, I am yet at a stand what to propose; such a sum of money together may be heavy upon the revenue here, as it now stands; but, if it were divided into yearly proportions for some years, it might be easy; therefore all that I can propose is, that the customs be burthened with a certain sum yearly at two terms, till I be paid off the total; and that so as the collectors, while they are in collection, and the tackmen, while they are under tack, be obliged to pay me termly, upon receipt from me, or my heirs failing of me, without need of precepts from the Thesaury; for, if these must be interposed, I know what reckoning to make of it.

I am not conscious to myself, that ever I have failed in friendship towards those, with whom King William engaged me; and if it happen, that my friendship be undervalued, I am the less concerned, if it be not through my own fault; and I hope, while I live in health, still to signify something in my rank here, where I am a native, and have some who do esteem me.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Sir Andrew Hume[1].

Cannongate, Tuesday,
January 12th, 1703.

My Heart,

In whatever manner or measure her Majesty is pleased to take notice of, and to shew any favorable regard towards (me), I cannot but receive it with a great deal of honor and thankfulness; and I am persuaded, that seeing her Majesty has spoke of a pension of 500*l.* to be given me, it is with an intention, that it shall be effectual to me. The way of having it so ordered depends altogether upon the statesmen there, according as they have good will to me. Their Lordships know, as well as I do, that the customs and excise are so low at this time, as it is not to be expected they can answer occasions, which ought to be preferred to any pension payable to me; and if that be not fixed upon some other part of the crown revenue, I am afraid, it will be but a name, and so not answer the design of the Queen and these lords, who are my friends, nor yet my necessities. Therefore wait upon them, and acquaint them with my thoughts. It would be a steedable help to me, now that I have many things to discharge, if I get the 400*l.* sterling for the terms of Whitsuntide and Martinmas last of

[1] Of Kimmergham, Patrick Lord Marchmont's third son; afterwards a Lord of Session.

the pension, which I had from King William; or, if the Queen makes the first year of the 500*l.* pension, which her Majesty intends for me, to be now payable as for the terms of Martinmas and Whitsuntide last, it would be of good use to me, and is but 100*l.* more than the other. It is like, the statesmen, who advise the Queen, will have small difficulty in this; therefore propose it to them, and acquaint me with the success.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Seafield.

[Extract.]

Cannongate, Tuesday,
January 19th, 1703.

I have the honor of your Lordship's letter of the 12th current; and I am very sensible of, and thankful for her Majesty's favor of thinking me worthy of the pension your Lordship mentions, albeit I have ground to think, that the fund, upon which it is to be set, will not answer it. While I served in the public posts, which I have had, my obligation was not from the salary that I received, but from the sense of duty, and the good affection I carried to my Sovereign and the Government; and though the former ceases, yet the latter are with me the same as ever; and as I have given proof of it before, I will endeavor to do it as often, as there are fair opportunities for it.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Sir Andrew Hume.

[Extract.]

Polwarth House, Tuesday,
January 25th, 1703.

Of the 300*l.* sterling, which rested to me at Martinmas 1701, of my 400*l.* pension, I could not get a shilling, nor any thing at all of the 800*l.* of my salary as chancellor due at Martinmas last, though I have the Thesaury's precepts for them both. I never doubted, but her Majesty would make good to me the 400*l.* pension for the terms of Whitsuntide and Martinmas last. Her Majesty's letter to the Thesaury is the usual way of ordering such things; but, when I get it, I know, it cannot be answered; for, if the fund for the Civil List could do it, then I would get my Martinmas salary, or some part of it. However it is a signification of the Queen's favor to me.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Sir Andrew Hume.

[Extract.]

Polwarth House, Tuesday,
February 2d, 1703.

I can get nothing of 1200*l.* and more, for which I have precepts from the Treasury.

George Baillie, Esq., to the Lady Grisell Baillie.

London, Thursday, March 9th, 1704.

We got our audience Tuesday, 8th, at night. Rothes said, we were come from a considerable number of her good subjects in Scotland, to lay before her Majesty how great an affliction it was to them, that a plot[1] was said to have been carried on there to overturn the government, and that some of her best subjects should have been loaded with such pernicious designs; and begged leave, with all humility, to represent to her Majesty, the alarm the nation took at the report of an advice given to keep an army in Scotland upon foreign pay, [and] did

[1] The House of Lords had resolved, that there had been a dangerous conspiracy in Scotland in favor of the pretender, which was to be carried into effect by an invasion of the kingdom by a French army, and 'that it was their 'opinion, that nothing had given so much encouragement to these designs, as 'the succession of the Crown of Scotland not being declared in favor of the 'Princess Sophia and her heirs,' and that the Queen should be requested to promote it. This was the plot, of which Fraser of Beaufort declared the existence to the Duke of Queensberry. It was stated, that on this Lord Stair had proposed, that an English army should be sent into Scotland and maintained in English pay until Queen Anne's death, and that during her life the Scots parliament should not meet. It was on this state of things that the Earls of Rothes and Roxburgh and Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood were sent to court by the country and cavalier parties in Scotland on a mission, of which the account is here given. Before the next session of parliament the Duke of Queensberry was laid aside as Secretary of State, Lord Roxburgh was made Secretary of State, Lord Rothes Privy Seal, and Mr. Baillie Treasurer Depute.

therefore presume, from a most sincere regard to her Majesty's honor and interest of her kingdom, which her good subjects reckoned inseparable, with all earnestness, to beg her Majesty would be graciously pleased to allow her parliament to sit so soon as her affairs will permit, that such inquiries may be made, as would secure her person and government from all bad designs, and likewise clear innocent people from the imputation of pernicious practices. 'And we can assure you, Madam, that 'however these persons may be misrepresented, they 'will never be wanting to do what in them lies for 'your Majesty's honor and support of your govern-'ment.' Upon which, her Majesty was pleased to ask, how it came to be said, that such an advice had been given her, and that she had never designed any such thing. To which Rothes said, that we could do our constituents that justice as to assure her Majesty, they were persuaded, that she would neither accept nor approve of such advice; but that it was said in Scotland, that it had been given to her Majesty in council; to which she answered, that what had been said there should not have been spoken of elsewhere. Then added, she designed her parliament should sit very soon; which, being what we had to ask, we came away. But being called back from the foot of the stairs, the Queen said, that she had forgot to tell us, that the plot should be laid before the parliament; upon which Jerviswood said, that her Majesty's good

subjects, by whom we were sent, did not presume to prescribe to her Majesty whom she should employ in her affairs, but were humbly of opinion, it would tend much to her Majesty's interest, that all concerned in the plot, or in loading her Majesty's innocent subjects with it, were left to the justice of her parliament without any such character from her Majesty, as might prove a defence to them, or, if attacked, weaken her Majesty's authority, which her good subjects would have preserved as inviolable; and would most unwillingly touch upon it, unless necessitated thereto for the safety of her Majesty's government; and therefore did by us humbly entreat, that her Majesty, in her royal wisdom, would prevent these inconveniences, by granting the desires of our constituents, which they had chosen to represent by us after this manner, judging that it would be more acceptable to her Majesty than a written address from many thousands. Her Majesty said, she took this as our own opinions; to which Roxburgh answered, that though what had been said was what we humbly begged in particular, yet we had not presumed to have given her Majesty this trouble, if we had not been desired to do so by a great number of her Majesty's good subjects, that would always reckon it their honor, as well as duty, to serve her Majesty with their lives and fortunes. Her Majesty likewise told us, that she designed to settle the succession next session, which she thought would tend very

much to the security of the Protestant religion, and safety of both kingdoms; and asked our opinions about it. We told her, we were here representing a great many of her good subjects, whose minds we knew not in that matter, so we hoped her Majesty would be pleased first to allow us to give them an account of her Majesty's most gracious answer to what we had laid before her Majesty from them, and that then her Majesty might ask our several opinions, as she thought fit; to which her Majesty said, she hoped we would think of it. This is the substance of what passed. The succession is the present measure; but whether the court be in earnest, a little time will discover. However, the Duke of Queensberry undertakes it frankly, and will be the man employed in all probability, for the lords who support him will have it so; and by the management of the plot they have got a hand of the court, for the Duke of Queensberry would not be their choice, he having betrayed their secrets to lords for his own ends. But there is no other to undertake it, because they know not upon what terms; for, as it is said, they will be very insignificant ones. And Queensberry's set give out confidently, that Lord Marchmont will be very easy in that matter, and pass from any of his limitations, providing the succession be concluded. It is upon this foundation they give out confidently, that they will carry their business very easily; but I am confident, that even those, who wish well to the succes-

sion, will not run into it without reasonable terms, such as may secure us against the present inconveniences we labor under. I have wrote fully to Tweeddale about these matters, for we have no power to treat about them, and matters are so ticklish here, that we do not well know how to manage so as to defeat Queensberry, and keep our party, many of which, I am confident, would go into the succession upon reasonable terms, but not under Queensberry's direction. I have no time to write to your father; transcribe this, and send it him. The lords are still upon the Scots' plot; the report will be made in a few days; wherein, as it is said, they design to favor Queensberry, but we do not hear they will find any persons of note concerned in it. It is necessary I have an answer from Lord Marchmont. Since writing of this I hear the report about the plot will not be until next week, and that the parliament will sit a fortnight.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Roxburgh[1], *Secretary of State.*

Redbraes Castle,
Saturday, November 4th, 1704.

My Lord,

Two days ago I had the honor of a letter from your Lordship, so favorable and kind, as puts me under great obligations, as friendship is most substantially evidenced by actions. Your Lordship has been pleased to give that proof of yours to me, for I know my son, Sir Alexander's[2] getting that creditable post he hath, is owing very much to your Lordship. I am exceedingly sensible of it, though at present I have no opportunity of shewing it but by this humble return of hearty thanks. I hope, your Lordship shall find my son to answer your expectation, and the good esteem you have of him. I have heard, how her Majesty has ordered her service, and truly the way is very satisfying to me. If

[1] Created Duke of Roxburgh in 1707, and made a Knight of the Garter by George the First.

[2] The Earl of Marchmont's second son, who on his elder brother's death became Lord Polwarth, and finally succeeded to his father's title. In 1704, he was made one of the Senators of the College of Justice in Scotland, and soon after one of the Privy Council and Exchequer.

I be any way capable of discerning what may be useful for advancing her Majesty's service, and for supporting the worthy persons whom she is pleased to employ, I will mind it, and set about it diligently to the utmost of my power; and seeing your Lordship allows me that liberty, I shall impart freely my thoughts to you, as occasion may require. I have of some years had an observing eye upon your Lordship, your carriage, and appearances, and have discerned what gave me much satisfaction, both in reference to your understanding and to your temper. I will not be more particular, lest it might savour of what I have not been much given to. I was never a flatterer. I know not, whether I have lost or gained by it; but, being now old, I cannot easily change my way, nor do I think I need, when I have such a one as you to deal with. But in all sincerity if I can be serviceable to your Lordship, I shall be found very ready. You know, the ties of kindred and kindness meeting together must be strong upon any honest person, and are upon me. My Lord, give me leave to close with what I cannot omit, earnestly to advise your Lordship to keep honor and truth always of your side, and to mind still the one thing necessary, whatever hurry of worldly business you may be in. Then the Eternal God will bless, guide, and defend you, and give success, both to your counsels and labors. Take this assurance from an old man, who has had great

traverses of fortune, and great proofs of the good providence of God. Excuse this freedom from one, who loves and honors you much, and is,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
Humble servant,

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Marquis of Tweeddale[1].

Saturday, November 4th, 1704.

My Lord,

Having heard how her Majesty has bestowed the employments in her service, and knowing that your Lordship has had a most significant hand in getting these matters ordered so as they are, I judge it my duty to acquaint your Lordship of my thoughts, seeing I have found you several times willing to know my opinion of business. I am very hopeful, that the choice, the Queen has made, shall do very

[1] The Marquis of Tweeddale was High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland in 1704; he was appointed in consequence of the change of system respecting Scotland in that year, under which the Duke of Queensberry was removed from his post of Secretary of State. The Marquis was one of the heads of the Squadron, or independent party.

well, and make her service go more easily than formerly, provided that the Council and Exchequer Boards be of persons unquestionably well affected to the Revolution settlement. I have often heard persons of the first ranks, who, I know, were not sincerely affected, exclaiming against a narrow bottom, as they called it. I like a narrow bottom as little as any; yet an unsound bottom is certainly worse, and less firm, like the feet of the image, half of iron, half of clay. And, I am sure, where persons of cross principles are mixed in councils, so as there may be any hope for either party of promoting their own projects, there can be nothing but jarring and undermining, with great discouragement to the side, that is aiming at real good. And it is to me very plain, that, if her Majesty form her council once of true Revolution persons without mixture, in a short time all will turn to that way, and give convincing proof of it, when they shall once see, that it is the only way to gain her Majesty's favor, and to attain such stations in her service, as they are capable of.

If such a method be followed, a short time will shew, that the nation is pleased, and matters will go smoothly in her service, both in reference to the state, and to the church.

I am expecting to hear of the commissions for Council and Exchequer; for by these means many will form judgments. My son-in-law, and my son,

Sir Alexander, and cousin, Sir John Hume [1], being so kindly taken notice of, is a load of obligation upon me, who was under many before to your Lordship, and your family. If it be in my power by any means to give proof of my gratitude, and to be useful to your Lordship in the high but burthensome station, which you are placed in, I will do it with all my heart upon every occasion; and if any thing occur to me, which I would advise your Lordship, if I were by you, I will take the liberty to write of it without any reserve. I heartily wish your Lordship all joy and prosperity in the high office you possess, and remain,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obliged, and
faithful servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to James Johnston [2] Lord Register.

[Extract.]

Saturday, November 4th, 1704.

I have heard nothing who are employed in the Commissions of Council and Exchequer; but if these be [a] set of Revolution people, and those of

[1] Of Blackadder.

[2] Appointed Lord Clerk Register in 1704; dismissed the year following.

other principles (who are all well enough known in this country) mingled together, it will but continue the old work of doing little to purpose; but if her Majesty once give a set of sound men, and continue them awhile, the nation will be absolutely convinced, that there will be no diverting from the Revolution establishment, and will all turn into it, finding that the way to gain the Queen's favor, and to come at posts in her service; for certainly it is not scruple of conscience, that does, or has hindered any of them from concurring heartily for serving the Sovereign in parliament, or other occasions, or from joining with others for securing the present settlement.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Devonshire[1].

Tuesday, Dec. 12th, 1704.

My Lord,

Albeit I know that my letters have always been acceptable to your Grace, yet I have not troubled you with any these two years. Not that the honor and respect I have for you is lessened, but

[1] Lord Marchmont could the more fitly address this letter to that illustrious patriot, as they were connected by relationship as well as by the strongest political sympathies, and by a common anxiety, that the affairs of the two nations should be so conducted as to secure to them the inestimable advantages, which they had obtained through the Revolution.

that the sad affliction which I have been under, by the death of my wife after long sickness, had so much disordered me, that I did not think of many things, which formerly I was in use to mind. Many of my best friends in England have been taken off the world, since I had the happiness to see your Grace; and there are but four left, besides yourself, to whom I can take the liberty to impart freely my thoughts in matters, whereof I cannot be unconcerned so long as I live, being the same well-wisher to the protestant interest and to the prosperity and peace of our Sovereign and her kingdoms as ever I was; for though I am in no public post of the state and indeed unfit for any, being sixty-four years of age, and become infirm of body, yet I have not lost my sight so far as not to discern evident dangers and difficulties; neither is my spirit brought so low as to give over endeavouring all I can to prevent or overcome them. The good success, which the arms of her Majesty and her allies have had abroad, give ground to hope, that we shall not be in such danger as formerly of being disturbed by attempts of the French king upon any of the kingdoms of her Majesty's dominion. But it is to be feared, that the divisions and cross measures amongst ourselves may produce very bad effects, and in end make greater way for the designs of our enemies, than their own force and power can do. As to the affairs of this kingdom, when God took away King William, the people of this nation were in a very chagrine humor

upon account of the Darien affair, and of unkind treatment, which they thought they met with from England in that matter. This did naturally enough lead to speculations not much in head before upon all the disadvantages this nation has been under, or may be liable to by the union of the two crowns (not so much considering at the same time the great advantages). The reason of several bad consequences was readily judged to be an error in the first concoction, that this nation had not settled necessary terms one hundred years since, when King James came to the crown of England; and next that, at king Charles the Second's restoration, the parliament here had passed from and quitted the regulations of government assented to by King Charles the First in the year 1641. The reflection upon these things brought all of us, who had the greatest hand in what was done here upon the happy Revolution, under much censure and blame for not taking that occasion to recover what had been lost, and of putting the nation and government in a clearer and safer condition. These considerations soon brought all the thinking people to conclude, that the entail of the crown being no further settled than to the heirs of her Majesty's body, it is absolutely necessary, at the making of a new entail and nominating a successor, to fix and establish such terms and conditions, as have been formerly, and are still found necessary for the interest of this kingdom. In prosecution of that design of nominating several persons

of note employed then in her Majesty's service, being convinced of the danger of delaying to nominate the successor, and earnest to have it done upon terms as easy as the nation's interest could admit of, gave sound advices to her Majesty's then commissioner, which, if they had been followed, would certainly have done the business, and prevented a great deal of dispute, which happened in the sessions of our parliament since the death of King William. But the commissioner, by preferring and following counsels of another sort, not only prevented the making a nomination, but likewise occasioned a great jealousy of himself as no friend to it, but as having a bias to the Jacobite side, as there is no doubt they, whose advices prevailed with him had. In the session of parliament, 1703, his Grace, discerning the disadvantages of the way he had been upon, appeared willing to do anything in his power for satisfying the parliament, that he might carry and obtain an act of supply for maintaining the troops. But he could not carry that, though he assented to the act allowing the importation of wines and other foreign liquors in contradiction to an act made in the session immediately preceding, and though he likewise gave the assent to the act relating to peace and war, the most important regulation of the government, which had been offered or mentioned in the House. There was an act intituled ' an act for security of the kingdom,' which was long in agitation, and at last was carried

by a vote, bearing in it the clause relating to a free communication of trade, the freedom of navigation, and the liberty of the plantations, to be secured by the kingdom of England to the kingdom of Scotland, and for the nominating the successor. Then when matters were gone so far, the commissioner found it convenient to put an end to that session, even without getting anything done for maintaining the troops, repairing the castles and forts, and providing the magazines of ammunition, though all so very requisite at that time. It is true, some of the funds remained unexhausted, whereupon the troops could be subsisted for nine or ten months; but after that, must either have been disbanded, or let go loose upon the country. When matters were come to this pass, and it was evident to all, that affairs were brought to an extreme difficulty, her Majesty was pleased to make considerable alteration of her ministers in the state. But the Marquis of Tweeddale, whom her Majesty appointed to be her commissioner, and those who assisted him, being under necessity of taking the business as they found it, and being much concerned to prevent the disbanding of the troops so near in their view, and finding no possibility of obtaining an act of supply, until the parliament was satisfied of an act of security, they were obliged to bring that act to the best terms they could, and with much pains, and great difficulty, arising partly from the reflections I have formerly mentioned, and partly from the use,

which some, who are in all appearance opposite to the settling of the succession upon any terms, so long as her Majesty lives, made of the jealousies and irritations, which they observed among the people in reference to England, and must needs either accept of the rest of that act, as it now stands, or have the troops disbanded. As for the nomination of the successor, it was impossible to do it at that time, because that such regulations of government, as are indeed necessary, are still reckoned upon to go along in the same act with the nomination; and more time and pains are necessary for bringing others to closer and more moderate terms, than some which have been formerly proposed; and I am confident (who know the dispositions in this nation as well as most others, who pretend), that if time be allowed to those now in employment, and that encouragement be given to the well affected, the pains, which they may take, will bring affairs here to a much better posture, [and] obtain the naming of the successor upon such moderate and reasonable regulations of government, as no person, who duly considers the interest of this kingdom, can be dissatisfied of.

It is nothing strange, that the parliament of England is earnestly desirous to have the successor to the crown of England named successor to the crown of Scotland, and to have the pretensions of the popish pretender extinguished here, as it is there, both for the security of her Majesty's life and per-

son, and of our religion and liberties. But I cannot forbear to tell your Grace, that unless the parliament of England be very tender of intermeddling in matters relating to this kingdom, which are proper to be treated of in our parliament, it will rather prove a let and hindrance to, than anywise promote and advance the settling of the succession. Some motions lately made in the house of peers there are strangely taken and constructed of here. These, who are opposite to the nominating, take a handle from them to a very bad purpose. Others who are true to the Revolution establishment, and I believe will never desert it, are grieved at the heart to think their endeavors may be crossed by those who wish the same thing that they are earnestly working for. One thing I am much astonished at (supposing that there is some ground for the accounts which I got); and it is, that some of those whom her Majesty has lately brought into the ministry, are spoken of, and looked upon there, as not having been sincere nor diligent enough here to get the nomination made, and that they complied too much with the humor of those, who stuck to the highest terms of regulation in our government. Whereas, I know particularly, that the same persons while here were reflected upon by the chief opposers of a nomination, as under a great bias towards England. But I am sure, there was no ground for either censure, unless this be taken as one for the last, that in

conversing with members of the house, the fidelity of England to the protestant interest, and constant regard of their liberties and laws, and likewise the opulency of that kingdom, its power and strength both by land and sea, were made use of as arguments to incline the members of our house not to stick upon extreme points, but to content themselves with such regulations, as are indispensably necessary for preserving the liberties of the kingdom. I own, that the distinction in divinity betwixt a secret and revealed will, though well intended, did no good, as commonly the starting of such distinctions brings doubts into the heads and fancies of those, who minded them not before. But sure no judicious person, who has observed the eminent proofs the Queen has given of her zeal for the protestant interest, nor who considers the care she must necessarily have of her own preservation, can think that her Majesty is not earnestly concerned for having the succession settled in the protestant line, and the pretensions and hopes of any papist cut off and extinguished. Future events being contingent, I will not adventure to guess, what our next session of parliament may do in the matter of the succession; but I am persuaded, that if England meddle not too much in our matters, and if time be given to those now employed to bestir themselves here, things may be brought about to the good satisfaction of her Majesty, and of those in all her kingdoms, who

stand firm upon the Revolution foot, of which sort are the far greater part of the people here. Though I cannot say what our parliament will do, yet some things I shall mention, which I am confident it will never do, if those of the Revolution principles prevail in it, as I am persuaded they will. 1st, It will never make way for a popish successor. 2d, It will never yield up the ancient native liberty and rights of the kingdom. 3d, It will never divide from England, unless that England depart from the first maxim, which I am confident it never will; or that England make invasion upon our second maxim, which I am persuaded, the best, and best affected of that nation will never attempt.

I hope your Grace will excuse this long letter. I could not have excused myself from unfaithfulness to, and unconcernedness for our common interest, if I had not used all this freedom with your Grace, whose worth and principles I have so long known, being, by the obligation of many ties,

My Lord,
Your Grace's most obliged and
Faithful servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Lord Somers[1].

[Extract.]

Tuesday, Dec. 12th, 1704.

I hear, that some there[2] take much notice of the design of arming[3] the country, as if there might be a danger in it. But these, it seems, do not know, and are not informed, that the disaffected to the Revolution establishment were formerly, and are well armed; and that the body of those people, which is of sound principles, hath not wherewith to defend themselves, in case France should be able at any time to make an attempt here, to which it is little to be doubted, the armed Jacobites, though now lying quiet and under mask, would readily join.

[1] It was under feelings and an anxiety similar to those, which led him to address his letter of this date to the Duke of Devonshire, that Lord Marchmont writes thus to the most eminent of the English Whigs, and in whom, above all others of them, he the most confided. He reposed his confidence with his wonted judgment, for it would be difficult to point out, in any age or country, a statesman claiming more powerfully our respect and admiration than Lord Somers.

[2] In England.

[3] Under the Act of Security then recently past in Scotland.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Lord Somers.

Redbraes Castle,
Saturday, March 3d, 1705.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's letter of the 4th January came to me upon the 23d, very safe, sealed within with a lady's head. I do very thankfully acknowledge the honor your Lordship did me by it, and the great satisfaction I have of the freedom you was pleased to use in it. I should be happy, if I were able to answer the opinion your Lordship has of me. I hope my intentions are sincere, equal, and under as little bias as can be, otherwise I should be indeed unfit to treat of a matter betwixt parties so considerable as those are, who be concerned in what I formerly wrote about. I am fully convinced, that these two kingdoms can never be in a more unhappy, dangerous, and weak condition, than by being divided again under two sovereigns, even supposing them ever to be as truly protestant, as our present sovereign is. Therefore there appears a pressing necessity, that the successor of England be agreed to here for this kingdom.

The great difficulty which stands in the way, is that of getting the interests of both kingdoms so adjusted as to be safe. It is a great question to

me, as to many others, if that be practicable, while they continue to be two kingdoms. If it be not (as there are many things, which lead one to think so), then necessarily those, who desire to have a sound and solid settlement, whereby the religion, liberty, and power of this island may be settled and maintained, will apply their thoughts to find out [in] what way that may be obtained. And happy will the man be, who can in that matter find out solid and suitable expedients. Some perhaps may think it strange, that I, who have been so much tossed in the world, should now perplex myself about those things, when I am old, and in no public station, but fairly got off to a quiet retreat to live at home. But I think your Lordship will consider, that, having a family, and many children, and many families, and persons of my kindred and friendship, it is not strange, if, foreseeing a danger to posterity, I endeavor, all that I can in my private station, to have it prevented. I flatter myself to think, that I might be able to satisfy your Lordship in many things relating to that, and am confident, if we were together, that we would quickly by conversing come to be of one mind. If my health hold good till the summer, it may be, I shall be so happy as to see you. As now I will continue to write to your Lordship with that freedom, which you allow me, I seal with a fancy, having *omne tulit punctum* cut about it. If your Lordship be pleased to write to me, it is best to seal as the former; and if you please to

address to the Lord Polwarth (he is my oldest son), to the care of the postmaster of Berwick-upon-Tweed, it may come safe to my hands, for he gets ordinarily letters from London that way. It may be fit, that your Lordship send me an address, whereby my letters may assuredly come safe to you. I shall be glad to know how this comes to hand in this way that I have taken to send it by.

I shall add no more, but that

I am, &c. &c.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Queen.

Dec. 29th, 1705.

Madam,

May it please your Majesty.

Seeing it has pleased God to make your Majesty's reign very prosperous, and that there is a fair appearance the great work of uniting the kingdoms is reserved to make up the glory of your Majesty's reign, though it had been oft attempted without the wished success by your Majesty's predecessors, I beg leave as an old man, who have seen in my time great dangers and great deliverances, who have had the honor to serve your Majesty in a high post, after I had served your royal brother and sister King William and Queen Mary, who now

inherit an incorruptible crown, with all the fidelity and diligence I was able for many years, and who am as heartily concerned for the welfare and safety of your royal person, for the grandeur and stability of your government, and for the prosperity and peace of your people, as any man can be, humbly and freely to lay before your Majesty my thoughts of the properest, and most probable way of accomplishing that union, which your Majesty happily designs.

I think it beyond dispute, that an union is a work of that value and dignity, that none greater has been brought about in your Majesty's kingdoms since the reformation from popery and idolatry, and that there is nothing so likely as it to debar for ever popery, tyranny, anarchy, and confusion from these islands under your Majesty's government; nor so likely to promote the honor and grandeur of the sovereign, and the prosperity and peace of the people. So it is not strange that I or any of this persuasion wish well to the design, and pray God to prosper your Majesty in pursuing it. It is not to be doubted, but your Majesty will meet with difficulties in it, both in that kingdom and in this. As to England, it is nearer to your Majesty's eye; I shall not mention my particular conjectures. But being convinced that good and wise men, of which there is abundance there, will discern the common advantages of so great a purpose, I am very hopeful they will advise your Majesty nothing but what is

honorable, equal, and safe for your Majesty and your people of both nations.

As to Scotland, which has been most under my observation, I apprehend there will be great difficulties, for it cannot be denied, that in the parliaments here the members have often differed widely, and that there have been very cross parties, which has had an effect to make very different opinions among the people.

It is true, the most dangerous, to wit, a popish party, is not strong in Scotland. I wish I could say the same of a party, that seem not well inclined towards the successor to the crown, which your Majesty and your parliament have agreed upon for the kingdom of England, in case of your Majesty's demise without children; but I dare not say it. There is likewise some division amongst people of all ranks upon the matter of an union. Some wish an entire union, some a federal one, as they call it; and these latter seem to make the greater party. Yet, I hope, the several great advantages, that will accompany an entire union, which a federal cannot produce, besides the view of a longer continuance, will, when fully explained and reasoned upon, convince and dispose such, as indeed are friends to an union of any sort, to prefer that which brings with it the maniest and greatest benefits, and will be of longest duration. There are likewise differences among persons of the greatest interest in the country, and of greatest influence in parliament, which,

though upon lesser accounts, as I conceive, do influence and dispose some of them to go cross to one another in the matters of highest importance. It may indeed be matter of regret, that the great zeal for serving your Majesty best, and of being employed in your service, should have so bad an effect, as sometimes it appears to have.

When that great affair comes to be treated of, it will signify much to have the treaters sound and well inclined. I hope God will assist your Majesty and those, who give you advice, that a happy nomination may be made. As to which I am of opinion that of those, who are not opposed to the successor of England, there are persons of note of every one of the parties of them, who will be heartily inclined to an entire union, and induced to do their utmost in the treaty and in the parliament here, to bring the matter to such a conclusion, as will be honorable and of perpetual advantage to your Majesty, and your successors upon the throne, and to your subjects of all ranks, and their posterity of both nations. Therefore I heartily wish such a choice may be made of commissioners to treat, as may strengthen the design, make friends to it, and prevent, as much as is possible, contradiction and opposition, when the matter comes to a parliament in Scotland. It has been often observed of some quick and pregnant spirits, that they are apt to cross and oppose motions and purposes, where they have had no hand in proposing them, or where they have wanted the oppor-

tunity to do it. But I am persuaded, that it is in your Majesty's hands by your nomination to prevent the most considerable and dangerous opposition, which can be expected. Madam! your Majesty knows, that as I am under ties natural, and by oath to your Majesty and to the crown, to Scotland as a native thereof, and to the English nation as in the same bottom with them, I am likewise under particular obligations for many favors bestowed upon myself by your Majesty, and by your royal brother and sister of blessed memory, the sense of all which constrained me humbly to use this freedom with my Sovereign, which, I think, will be a witness when I am dead, that my heart has been honest and sincere toward your Majesty and your government, which I pray God may be long continued for the honor, prosperity, and peace of your Majesty, and your people. If it were not the worst season of the year, I would have adventured a journey, as infirm as I am, to have waited upon your Majesty, that I might have enlarged more fully upon every particular, that I have written of, than I can do in this manner, and that I might have offered my humble thanks for many marks of your royal favor, which I have had. That your Majesty and your councils may still be countenanced and influenced by the God of wisdom, is the hearty prayer of,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subject,

And most obedient humble servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Somers.

[Extract.]

Dec. 29th, 1705.

I could very easily trace your Lordship's hand in what has passed [1] there of late, because I am so well acquainted with your principles; and I must acknowledge, it is to me a principal ground of hope, that a treaty of union will now be brought to a happy issue, that your Lordship's influence and interest will be at hand to promote it; and I must say it, though to yourself, I am convinced, that more depends upon you than upon any other man. And, my Lord, how great a happiness it will be to you and to your family, if you shall be a noted instrument in so good a work, cannot but be evident and plain to every judicious person, as it is to me according to the measure of my understanding.

[1] The English parliament had passed 'An act, to prevent the mischiefs 'arising to England from the Act of Security in Scotland;' and the provisions of this English law gave such offence in Scotland, that its parliament 'agreed and ordered,' on the 4th September, 1705, that the commissioners to be named by the Queen for Scotland should not commence the Treaty of Union, until the clause in that English act, which was felt to be the most offensive and injurious, and which declared the subjects of Scotland aliens, should be rescinded. Under a change, which took place in the English ministry, an act was passed in the session of the parliament of England, which began on the 25th October, 1705, to repeal several clauses in the statute, made in the third and fourth years of Queen Anne, for securing the kingdom of England from several acts lately passed in the parliament of Scotland. This act, which gave to Scotland the security and satisfaction required, and which was the measure here adverted to by Lord Marchmont, received the royal assent on the 21st December, 1705.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Lord Wharton[1].

[Extract.]

Dec. 29th, 1705.

My Lord,

The long acquaintance and intimate friendship, which I had with your Lordship's father, having fixed in me an esteem of, and kindness to your family, and your Lordship's obliging carriage towards me upon all occasions, lead me to a great freedom of writing to your Lordship, seeing I have not the opportunity of seeing you there, which some time ago I did intend, if hindrances had not happened.

Now that I have had a satisfactory account, how affairs have gone in the parliament of England, particularly of the rescinding that act, which stood in the way of a treaty of union, and that I am hopeful that great and good work is near to be put hand to, I could not forbear writing to your Lordship, who I understand [are] a favorer and promoter of it. And I do it with much freedom, knowing that I

[1] Although this eminent leader of the Whigs has less claims upon our respect than Lord Somers possesses, his activity, talents, and consideration in his party marked him out to Lord Marchmont as one, to whom he could very usefully address himself with views similar to those, in which he wrote to the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Somers. He was made Privy Seal, and a Marquis by George the First.

deal with a person of honor, in whom I may confide, and who will make the best use of what I write.

I have long been of opinion, and am so still, that if an entire union had been betwixt these kingdoms sixty years ago, the mischiefs, which have since happened, both many and great, would have been prevented; and I am confident, that if now in her Majesty's reign (which I look upon as the only opportunity that we are like to have) an entire union can be agreed upon, it will prove a sure way for preventing such evils and dangers for the future, and so secure the great interests of this island, both sacred and civil, as to produce an increase both of power and of wealth.

If such an union be agreed to, I would reckon the apprehension and fear of popery and tyranny to be quite over, and out of doors. I would look upon the monarchy as mightily strengthened and confirmed, and upon the power of these islands to be the certain balance of Europe, of which all the princes and states of Europe would court the favor and friendship.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Argyle[1].

[Extract.]

Dec. 29th, 1705.

I must use a perfect freedom with your Grace, to tell you my opinion, how I think the strongest and most dangerous opposition, that can reasonably be expected, may be prevented. I am persuaded, it is much in her Majesty's hand and power to do it by her nomination of Commissioners to treat, wherein a due regard being had to a sufficient balance, and that none be named, whom there is any ground to suspect as averse from any union, which can terminate in the successor of Hanover, I am very positive, that, to mix some of those of greatest interest, who are not reckoned favorable to an entire union, will be better than to leave them out; for, besides that it will take off the pretence of having been neglected and slighted in an affair of so great importance, there will be a fairer probability of persuading and convincing in a treaty, wherein themselves may have a hand, than in a parliament, when a matter comes prepared before it; and your Grace may consider, if it is not likely, that arguments may come to be used in our

[1] John Duke of Argyle, the Queen's Lord High Commissioner in the Scottish Parliament in 1705.

parliament, which would never be mentioned nor heard of in a treaty; and if there may not happen a wilfulness and obstinacy in a parliament, which will not in a treaty.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Argyle.

[Extract.]

Dec. 29th, 1705.

I cannot but think it strange, that now, after three years, the 827*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* sterling of my salary for serving the Queen as her Chancellor is yet resting to me, which makes me very uneasy in this time, when so little can be made of our estates in the country, which straitens me more in my business, than, I am sure, your Grace would like to know; and that it should be so, for so small a matter of that sort, may be thought very unfit.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Devonshire.

[Extract.]

Dec. 29th, 1705.

It has been a great satisfaction to me to find, that your Grace thinks an entire union the surest way for securing the Protestant religion, [and] establishing the monarchy, with the peace and prosperity of these nations. I have been long of that opinion, and, I hope, am unalterably so; and all my endeavors have been to inform, and persuade others of note, who had not been so clear in the matter, I am hopeful, not without some good effect. No doubt there will occur difficulties in an affair of so great importance; and, I believe, opposition will be made by some, to prevent which, as far as possible, is well worth all the care and pains, that can be taken. I shall freely tell your Grace my opinion as to that matter; for I know, you will make use of it to the best advantage. I do think, it is much in her Majesty's hand, by the naming of commissioners of treaty, to prevent such opposition as might be strongest and of greatest danger, when the affairs should come to be laid before the parliaments; for I am persuaded, that some of great consideration and interest may be convinced, and carried along in a treaty, who may prove very diffi-

cult and obstinate in a parliament, if they take the impression, that they are slighted and neglected in an affair of so great importance. Your Grace will have occasion to discover the inclinations of those of the Scots statesmen and nobility, who at this time make appearance at court, if themselves be indeed for an entire union or not, and likewise, whatever they are for, if their reckoning be to carry their own purpose by their own power and influence in parliament, which, I doubt, will be a heavy undertaking; or, if they are disposed to carry along the assistance of any who is well inclined towards an entire union, laying aside other exceptions, which in my opinion will make the business easy, and put an end to many little differences and grumblings. . . . . I would be inexpressibly glad, to have the prospect of peace and prosperity to those I am likely to leave behind me, who will have the honor to claim kindred to your Grace's family, and perhaps the opportunity to give some evidence of the great esteem, which I have long had for it, suitable to the many obligations upon me, from your Grace, and from the family of Bedford. Wishing your Grace and your family all happiness and prosperity, I am, in all respects,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged, and

Obedient humble servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to James Johnston, Esq. late Lord Register[1].

Dec. 29th, 1705.

My Lord,

I have forborne writing to your Lordship of a great while, not that I either do, or ever can forget you, but that our affairs have been so much in the dark, that anything I had to say was not worth putting you to the pains of making a return to me, as you use to do.

Now matters begin to look a little clearer; and, if I understand, a great opportunity is approaching, wherein these nations will have a hit or a miss of a most valuable prize.

When I look back upon the variety of passages, which had occurred in the last fourscore years, and upon the many and great mischiefs which happened, I cannot but wish, that there be none such hereafter. And when I consider the present juncture, and many notable circumstances that concur, I am convinced, that it is now the time to provide against, and for preventing such evils and dangers, as we and our fathers have felt and seen.

I have narrowly observed, with all the judgment I have, all the projects and proposals tending to so good a purpose and end. And after all I am de-

[1] Lockhart says, that he had been Secretary to King William.

termined in myself, that an entire union betwixt Scotland and England is the only sound, substantial, and durable way for attaining what a protestant free man, native of this island, ought reasonably to desire, and aim at.

I reckon upon an entire union, upon equal and reasonable terms, which, as matters stand, there is good ground to expect, as what will exclude popery and tyranny for ever, will confirm and establish the regular monarchy, will increase the strength and wealth of this island, will improve its trade and shipping, and give as fair a prospect of prosperity and continued peace, to the great assurance of interest both sacred, and civil, as can be expected of things sublunary.

It would require much writing to give my reasons in reference to all these particulars, and yet more to give you my thoughts of many means, that may be proposed in the subject of an entire union. I shall content myself to give you my opinion as to the entering upon so important a business, for the proverb holds often, *Dimidium facti*, &c.

In all appearance there will be a commission for a treaty; and if the Queen be well advised, and make a good nomination, that is a step of great consequence. I shall freely tell your Lordship my thoughts. I do apprehend, that there are considerable persons in Scotland, who are for no union which will lead to the successor of Hanover. I believe, there are some, who would have too great

power in their own hands, which would in course lacerate the nation, and bring the rest of the subjects into a depending, despicable condition. I love a legal liberty, and hate all dependence but upon the laws, and upon such rulers and exercisers of the laws, as are a terror to the evil, and an encouragement to the good and just.

I discern, that even those, who are for the successor of Hanover, and are for an union, have divisions and subdivisions among them, some of them I am persuaded upon light and low accounts. Yet it is too evident, that such differences make a bias, when the greatest affairs come in agitation.

In my opinion, if the Queen make a nomination with regard to these differences amongst us, the business will be marred in the beginning. Therefore my advice would be, to make a mixture with due regard to a just balance, that such, from whom the strongest opposition may be expected in our parliament, when the affair comes to be laid before it, may have opportunity to propose what they can or will in the treaty. Besides that, this will cut off the pretence of having been slighted and neglected. In an affair of so vast importance persons will not allow themselves to offer in such a treaty, but what has strength and weight in it; nor be so apt to stick to, and be obstinate in any point, when they are overcome in reasoning, as, my experience tells me, some have made no bones of in some of our meetings of parliament.

I think too, that it will not be fit to have few commissioners for many obvious reasons, and this among others, that the more of note be brought to an accord in the treaty, the affair will come with the greater advantage of strength unto a parliament. The trouble and the expense I think not much worth the considering in an affair of such extent and high import. We know the husbandman, be the grain never so dear, will sow his land, having the hope of a plentiful product. The fruit, which these nations may reasonably expect of the trouble, pains, and charge now undergone, will probably recompense all so fully, as to make them be soon forgot. I am so much taken with, and so concerned for this great work, that I have found it my duty to write to the Queen about it, particularly this first step to be made, and to most of our Lords who are there, likewise to some of the English, whom I have confidence in; and I hope, your Lordship will consider well, what I have written to you, and, according as you have opportunity, do what you can to promote so good a design, which, I am confident, will tend to the great honor as well as advantage of every one, that shall happen to be a good instrument in it.

I have had accounts from my son-in-law of your and your lady's welfare, of which I wish long continuance, as being in all respects, and with much sincerity, My Lord,

Your Lordship's very affectionate friend,
And ever obliged servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Leven [1].

[Extract.]

Jan. 28th, 1706.

I have an account from my son Cessnok of new proofs of your Lordship's favor and good will towards me and my family, very obliging. I know, the friendship betwixt your Lordship's family and mine is so substantially founded, and upon so good grounds and principles, that it can hardly wear out; and I do believe, every opportunity of exerting it is, and will be, very welcome to us both. I have heard of late reports, that the Queen had bestowed the place and honor of commanding in chief her forces in this kingdom upon your Lordship. All I shall say of it is, that as a well-wisher to her Majesty and to our country, I pray God, she may bestow the places, that happen to be vacant, as fitly and duly as she has done; that, I am persuaded, she should be then faithfully and sufficiently served, and the nation be in a better condition, than it has been this great while. I wish you all joy and prosperity, and long enjoyment of that honorable station, even so long as you continue of the Revolution principles, which, I doubt not, you will retain all your days. I hear too of the disposal designed of other commands in

[1] Commander-in-chief in Scotland, one of the commissioners for the treaty of union, and one of the Scots representative peers in the first parliament of Great Britain.

the army, and of what relates to my son Polwarth. I am old, and off the stage of business; it is no matter for me. But he is not antiquated; and truly it were unfit for me to think, that he will be ill treated. King William, who was a pattern of princes, would not have done it. The Queen will do, as she is advised by persons, who may understand matters of that sort more, than any woman can; and if such give unsuitable advice, they will be to blame. But I am fully assured, that your Lordship will be none of them, that will advise her Majesty to any unsuitable thing, especially what may carry with it a reflection upon any person of honor.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Marquis of Annandale[1].

[Extract.]

Feb. 21st, 1706.

I believe, your Lordship knows, that I myself have been narrowly dealt with. I have not yet got payment of my salary, while I served her Majesty as chancellor, nor of the pension her Majesty was pleased to give me, after I went off from the office; and I have not liberty to doubt, but that her Majesty would have me better dealt with, if she

[1] One of the Secretaries of State for Scotland.

knew how I had been used. However since, as it seems, none of our statesmen, who all know my circumstances, remember to speak to her Majesty, that my salary may be paid, and her Majesty's bounty made good to me, I resolve, now that I have recovered more strength, and have perfect health, that so soon as the season is better, and the road good, I will come to court, that I may have the honor to kiss her Majesty's hand, and represent to her what may be fit, both upon the public and my own private account.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Lord Somers.

Edinburgh, Nov. 9th, 1706.

My Lord,

I had from the Lord Justice-Clerk, who came to my house in the country to deliver it, and converse with me, the honor of your Lordship's letter of the 23d[1] of July last. I did delay making any return to it, till I should see how matters might form in our parliament.

Indeed, as many others had, so I had been doing

[1] The articles of Union were agreed upon, and signed by the commissioners named on the part of the two kingdoms, on the 22d July, 1706, the day preceding that of the date of Lord Somers's letter here mentioned. The Duke of Devonshire, Lord Wharton, and Lord Somers, were amongst the English commissioners.

all I could to prepare the minds of members of the House, and likewise of others in the country, for assisting to get that affair of an union brought to a desirable conclusion; and I soon discerned a secret influence set up, and moving to alienate the minds of the people from it, by raising jealousies, and putting strange and terrible shapes upon very remote consequences, which carry in them no manner of probability, nor so much as possibility to affect a sound mind and understanding; and truly, my Lord, they have no foundation, save one; that is, the reckoning and judging the protestants in England of all degrees and ranks to be void of not only all conscience and honor, but of humanity itself; and besides this, to consider them as persons, who neither understand, nor are concerned [in] their religion, liberty, prosperity, nor peace and safety. Such as these are very hard constructions to be put upon the proceedings of a nation and people, whose wisdom, fidelity, and probity have appeared to the conviction of the whole world.

When our parliament met[1], it was easy to discern who had been active in creating those jealousies, for partly in the House some of them were hinted at; and without doors it was commonly talked about, that it is high treason to treat of an union of the two kingdoms into one, as being opposite to Scotland's Claim of Rights (which is a gross mistake), the impugning whereof is declared by statute to be

[1] On the 3d October, 1706.

treason. It was likewise set about, that the presbyterian government of this church would be overturned, whatever provisions can be made in the contrary; and no articles will be observed and performed to this nation, for that the power being in the hands of British parliaments far more numerous of English than Scots members, no engagements and stipulations will stand in their way.

The friends to the union took much pains to guard against such insinuations; but for all that, many of the clergy (the far greater part whereof, being young men of little experience and warm zeal, are too easily imposed upon, and being by a melancholy constitution apt to entertain fears and jealousies) did, by the influence of such, become very cross and uneasy, and as now oppose, being entangled by the craft of those who pretend friendship of late; and, grown jealous of their old friends, were too busy to fright the vulgar, who are much inclined to follow their preachers, with danger approaching to the K[1]. government, which they [are] beyond expression fond of.

So soon as it appeared, that some of the House were against an union itself, though upon the best conditions that can be thought on, and that others were only dissatisfied of some of the terms or conditions, we resolved to have a question put upon the first article, if the two kingdoms shall be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great Britain,

[1] Kirk.

supposing that articles and terms of uniting come to be adjusted and agreed unto;—that it might appear who of the House were for treating an union, and capable of being satisfied of terms,—who not.

After great contest upon the matter, and to get it brought to a question, it was carried, upon the 4th current, to approve the article, with this provision, that if other articles of union be not adjusted by the parliament, then the agreeing to and approving of the first shall be of no effect.

There were voters present 199, of which were approvers 116, opposers 83; of these 66 entered their dissent, because they differed from the approvers only in that they were not for putting a question upon the first article, till votes should pass upon the fourth, fifth, and some other following articles.

Now, to deal plainly with your Lordship, as I have been in use to do, I must tell you, I am convinced, that the most part of these, who have protested, especially of the several ranks in the peerage, and many, though not all, of the commissioners for shires and boroughs, act against the union upon a concealed design to wait an opportunity, if the Queen (whom God preserve to be long our sovereign) should come to die, of setting up for the St. Germain pretender. Therefore they can be satisfied of anything except the union, which strikes at the root, and will certainly extinguish all such hopes. I am persuaded, it is upon no other pros-

pect, that many, who were opposite to such notions before, seem now much disposed to go in to name the successor of England, under regulations and conditions for ascertaining, as they speak, the sovereignty and independence of this kingdom in a separate state, but because they reckon that, at the Queen's decease, they might get a meeting of the states of such a sort, and the country of such a condition, as to overturn and alter what of that sort can now be done. I could never guess a reason, why many of these now protesting did formerly so earnestly oppose an entail upon the Princess Sophia, &c., upon the regulations of government then offered, but this, that they foresaw that way would necessarily lead to, and end in, an union betwixt the kingdoms, which indeed was to my knowledge the design of most of those, who then proposed the highest terms of regulation.

But now, as the posture of affairs is so far changed, their recurring to the rejected weapon convinces me, that they are much too sick, and acting very desperately in the last scene of their projects.

My Lord, in reference to the fourth, and some other articles of the treaty, I perceive, great difficulties will occur. Some of them, I apprehend, will be found insuperable, unless they meet with remedy from England. I do not much regard a cross humor stirred up among the meaner people and populace by the pains of ill-designing men, who spare it not, while it is founded only in their notion

and fancies, for [it] would soon evanish. But if they shall at the beginning feel smart, and present sensible prejudice by the execution of any article, then the danger may prove greater among a hot stubborn people, than can well be foreseen. I cannot yet condescend upon particulars, which I will do, when I am able to be more express and positive. Only this I can say in the general, that I am only apprehensive of such things, as may universally affect the common people of the nation, before they can have any sensible perception of the great benefits to the highest concerns, which will certainly be the fruit and product of an union.

It will not satisfy, I believe, that things uneasy in the beginning will be more than compensated in the progress, and course, for such is the hasty constitution of our people, that, when they sow their grounds, they have scarcely patience to wait the season of reaping, but upon fantastical fears of wind, and rains coming, are apt to cut down their corns, before they are ready. There is no thinking to alter humors of a people; it must be managed, and inclined by the most probable methods men can think of.

In the beginning of this session [a] new party, consisting of the peers, and gentlemen, who were laid aside from public employments, and the council, about[1] . . . . . with others of

[1] *Sic in origin.* Lord Marchmont was one of the leaders of this distinguished band.

their friends, upon whom they have influence, were much suspected, that they would go cross to the present ministers entrusted, who had supplanted them, but, God be thanked, they have not done so, for which all, who wish well to our Queen, and to Britain, owe them thanks, kindness, and esteem, for they have carried themselves, and concurred, as became persons of honor, understanding, and lovers of their country, without the least appearance of resentment towards those, who are now employed; and it is evident, that if they, being upwards of twenty-four in number, who keep close together, had joined with the opposers of the union, we, who are the promoters of it, could not have carried any thing. But now, if insuperable difficulties, such as I have mentioned, be not found in articles, or, if found, be removed, or redressed by the wisdom, and influence of your Lordship, and such as you, friends to the union, who understand the value of it, I make no doubt, but it will be brought to a happy conclusion.

POSTSCRIPT.

November 23d, 1706.

My Lord,

The difficulties, and warm debates, which happened in the House, led me to delay the sending off this, till I could give you the following account.

The second, third, and fourth articles of the treaty are approven, with the like provisions as the

first is; but the carrying of these votes was with a great deal of wrangle and contest. Upon the fourth article (wherein we expected little resistance) as much as upon any of the former, whereby it is easy to discern the design of the opposers; yet our greater difficulty is to keep many, by whom we must carry our votes, from being misled and abused by the designing opposers with their subtle pretences, which they make so plausible, as is apt to prevail upon the less understanding sort of well-meaning persons. The fifth article is approven with this alteration; the diet is changed from the time of signing this treaty for the union to the time of ratifying the treaty. I know not how your parliament may like this; but I am hopeful, that an affair of so manifold advantages to this island as an entire union may prove, will not stop upon differences of lesser moment. What I foresee of this sort, brings to my remembrance a very old treaty betwixt Rehoboam, and the tribes of Israel, and of the wise advice, which the old counsellors gave to him. This similitude halts, as commonly all do; yet I do believe, your Lordship will find something in it, that may be of use to us.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Wharton.

[Extract.]

November 9th, 1706.

I had the honor of your Lordship's letter of the 31st July last by the Lord Ross, who did me the kindness to call at my house on his way to Edinburgh. He gave me the satisfactory account of your Lordship's hearty inclination to the union, and of your prudent diligence, and endeavors in the treaty to advance it, such as I could have expected of your good understanding, and parts.

I had discerned of late, that some in all corners of the country [strove] to possess the people with fears about it, and great prejudices against it, as if it would reduce this nation to slavery, destroy the little trade they have, and make them miserable beyond a possibility [of] remedy, but especially, that it would overturn the church government established here, which the people are so addicted to, that they can suffer as much for it, as, I think, they would for Christianity itself.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Somers.

Jan. 17th, 1707.

My Lord,

I had the honor of your Lordship's letter of the 11th December last, which I have very much considered and regarded in all my appearances as solid, and judicious thoughts upon that great affair now in hand.

I delayed to trouble your Lordship by my letters upon that subject; till I could give you account, how things would go here.

The opposition did continue from first to last with great keenness and contest by the same party, and, I am confident, upon the same motives, as I mentioned in my former letter. No topic, even these of the least weight, was baulked by the opposers, whereby they could either hope to render any members of the House doubtful in any point, or jealous of bad consequences, or whereby they could waste time, which seemed to be a great design through the whole course of their opposition.

I am persuaded, they had conceived a hope of spending so much time here, as that the parliament of England should not have enough before May to consider, and go through the affair; but thanks to God, they are in that disappointed, for upon the 16th the act of our parliament upon the articles

with very few alterations was passed, and had the royal assent.

One of the most dangerous grounds of their opposition was the hazard our church government would lie under, which did oblige us to that act for securing it, that it should be an express stipulation in the articles of union. There was no possibility of getting this matter managed any other way, though the friends to the union did think that concern well secured as being strongly established by our law, and not at all to be treated of, as not being within the bounds and compass of the treaty.

It was evident enough, that such a stipulation on the part of our church might lead the parliament of England to the like on the part of theirs; and it is a great hope of the opposers, that something will be done in England upon that head, which will put the churchmen here, and the body of the commons in great jealousy, disgust and disorder.

This indeed cannot miss to be the consequence, if the parliament there do not either in reference to the church of England rest upon the legal establishment it now has, (which, in my humble opinion, will be found sufficient) or at least if any further security is to be provided, take care, that it be no stricter in terms or more extensive in the consequence and effect, than our act is for our church government, as to what may be done of that sort. Your Lordship will discern, and all others may, how great confidence and trust the friends to the union

here have in the wisdom, justice and probity of the parliament of England in reference to the quiet and comfortable living of all the protestant people of this island; and I cannot doubt, but care will be taken to abstain from making distinctions of protestant native subjects, whereby conscientious differences among them may debar any of them, from what their native interest, the protestant religion, and the tie of allegiance to the Sovereign entitles them to.

The few alterations or additions of another sort made upon the articles, I hope, will not be found uneasy there, yet have been so regarded here, as without them nothing could be done; and I am persuaded, that unless they be granted there, all that is done will fall. I have so good ground to think so, that I am confident, the whole affair is in danger, if it come back from the parliament of England otherwise than finished, and ratified, and to be recorded in the records of our parliament.

It was upon this consideration, that the promoters of the union here, as I myself likewise, did condescend to a very unprecedented step of holding what the parliament there would do for the security of the church government in England as ratified by our parliament, while we know nothing of the provisions or terms, which you may think necessary on that behalf, wherein we have acted with as great a confidence in the wisdom and justice of the English, as ever any nation shewed to another.

Now after all that in so many meetings, and against so great opposition, our parliament could do, the product of our pains, this act now passed, is to receive its just and relish, as its perfecting and finishing stroke from the parliament of England, in whose power it is to make it either sweet or bitter. It is of great importance, that the first taste of it be sweet and pleasant to the whole people of this island, of all degrees, ranks, and persuasions, except those who are obstinate enemies to the Revolution establishment, and consequently to the protestant religion, the liberty of the subjects in these dominions, and the balance of power in Europe.

The people as to this great and weighty affair of uniting are like a new vessel to be seasoned, and to receive a tincture whereby to be fitted for after uses; and it is certain,

> Quo semel est imbuta recens servavit odorem
> Testa diu.

I am fully persuaded the maxim will hold in this case.

Many here and I were for making as few unalterable stipulations as could be, because it seems a presumptuous thing to imagine, that we attain to such perfection in all we do, as that our posterity by change of condition and circumstances may not find a necessity to change and alter, or else run the hazard of disordering or ruining a whole people, whose safety, advantage and ease will ever be the predominant consideration in all wise and just

governments; and which in end will still prevail, either with greater or lesser difficulty; but certainly the better it is, by how much it be the more easy. Therefore I labored, all I could, to have every point managed and concluded with a regard to that rule; but so violent was the opposition, that we were necessitated in some things to recede from it. Yet I hope, that your wise and worthy men there will not be so much straitened by opposition, and will, in what you do, let us and the world see, that you are solid statesmen both for wisdom and probity, and do not admit or entertain such narrow principles, as indeed do render men unfit to manage the interests of so great a society and body, as the people of these dominions make; so that, what we have not been able to do, may by your prudent procedure come easily of itself in the issue, and consequence to the satisfaction of all, who have any measure of understanding.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Somers.

January 21st, 1707.

My Lord,

I hope my letter of the 17th current will be with your Lordship, before you can get this. I must now inform your Lordship, that after a vote had passed in the House, approving the first period of the twenty-second article of the Treaty, and the second

period (beginning thus—'And that when her Ma-'jesty, her heirs, &c.;' and ending thus, 'shall be 'settled before the Union') was taken into consideration, an explanation was offered to be added, after these words (according to the agreement in this treaty), viz., 'In such manner as by a subsequent 'act of this present session of the parliament of 'Scotland shall be settled, which act is hereby de-'clared to be as valid, as if it were a part of, and 'engrossed in this treaty.' This explanation was voted, and approven upon the 7th of this month. Then the House proceeded to the rest of that article, and those following, till the act approving the whole was voted, and passed upon the 16th. Upon the 20th, it was moved, that the House would agree to the following resolve, viz. 'Resolved, that the 'sixteen Peers and forty-five Commissioners for 'shires and boroughs, who are to be the members 'to the first parliament of Great Britain for, and on 'the part of Scotland, be chosen of the present par-'liament; and that the members so chosen be the 'members to the first parliament of Great Britain, 'if her Majesty shall declare, that it is expe-'dient, that the Lords and Commons of the present 'parliament of England, be the members of the 'first parliament of Great Britain for, and on the 'part of England.' This resolve was earnestly insisted for by most of the promoters of the union, and was mightily opposed by all the contrary party; but after much warm reasoning the

debate was adjourned till this day, when it was prosecuted with much fervor and keenness. At last, upon the question, the resolve was approven by a considerable majority of voices. The chief reason, which moved the friends of the union to be so earnest for this resolve, was, their being all convinced, of how great importance it is, that the first set of the two Houses of the first parliament of Great Britain be of unquestionable friends, both to the Revolution settlement, and to the union of both kingdoms, (which certainly your Lordship and others their friends too both are likewise convinced of) which could not be made sure on the part of Scotland, but by this method; for so much pains had been taken to make very bad impressions of danger, and prejudices by this union upon the minds of the people, with so much success, that, we are confident, if elections should be made in the shires and boroughs while in such a ferment, the forty-five commoners could not miss to be for the greater part of enemies to the union, and Revolution too. It is also likely, that the non-jurant peers, if the election be not in parliament, would meet with the rest at the time of their electing, seeing there is no oath or provision to stop them; so that the cross party would be able to carry the nomination of the sixteen peers altogether of those, who had opposed the union.

We reckon, that her Majesty will declare, that it is expedient, &c., as in the foregoing resolve; and if so, it is probable, the first session of the British

parliament will be in condition to set the union in so pleasant and acceptable a course, as will dissipate all the jealousies and fears, which have been industriously raised among the people; and that before another occasion come of another parliament, the elections may safely go on, so as will be by this parliament appointed for the future.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Queen.

February 1st, 1707.

Madam,

It was an inexpressible encouragement to me to know your Majesty's good opinion of my zeal for your service; and I thought myself very lucky, that your Majesty happened to have thoughts of me upon the 5th of November, the happy day of deliverances to England. I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to act a dutiful and thankful return to the favorable esteem your Majesty has of my small services, by taking all the pains I could, both in the House and otherwise, to assist in carrying on that great work of an union, which, if accomplished, will tend equally to the glory of your Majesty's name, and blessed reign, and the manifold advantage of your people. As it is a work of the greatest importance, so it has met here with the

greatest opposition of all sorts, which the opposers could devise, before it could be brought to that pass, as the act ratifying lately sent to your Majesty doth import. The opposition made was with so much boldness, artifice, and application, as could not have been overcome, but by persons both diligent and dexterous, and of abilities and temper for managing so great an affair; and if many such had not concurred, the business would certainly have been defeated. It cannot be imagined, that the carrying of this business is ascribable to one, or to a few. Many signalised themselves in it; and if any will pretend otherwise, it would be injurious to others, and too partial to themselves. Your Majesty's commissioner has had a trial both of his prudence and patience. The chancellor, Marquis of Montrose, President of your Council, the Duke of Argyle, Marquis of Tweeddale, both your Secretaries; the Earls of Rothes, Roxborough, Haddington, the late Earl of Stair, the Earl of Glasgow, and your Majesty's other servants, with others of the well-affected nobility, and commissioners for shires and boroughs, did indeed act such a part, as did well become subjects heartily sensible, what they owe to a Sovereign so benign and gracious, and to their native country.

Now, Madam, give me leave to put your Majesty in remembrance of my son, the Lord Polwarth, who has served abroad and here of a long time Lieutenant-Colonel of that regiment of dra-

goons[1] of which the Marquis of Lothian (who has been very zealous for your Majesty's service in parliament) was Colonel. I am hopeful, that your Majesty will prefer my son, who is both willing and able to serve, to the command of that regiment, and am fully assured, that your Majesty will put no tash[2] or discredit upon us, who are as earnest to advance your Majesty's interest and service, as any other can be. Begging pardon for this tedious letter, and for using my son's hand, because my own shaking hand serves me not, I am unchangeably, may it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's
Most dutiful subject, and most
Obedient humble servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Somers.

[Extract.]

February 27th, 1707.

My Lord,

As you are a person, in whom I have the greatest confidence, I am still disposed to use great freedom with you, and to conceal no thoughts, which [it] seems to me necessary that you should know, being

[1] Lord Polwarth was made Colonel of the regiment in question, the 7th Dragoons, on the 28th April 1707.

[2] French, 'Tache.'

confident, that you will make the best use for the common benefit of any information, which I can give you.

I have reason to think, that the state of this country is not perfectly understood to the best of our friends there, neither the nature of the parties, which have been, or are among us, nor yet the true characters of the persons, who have had most hand in business. More needs to be said, to explain this to your Lordship, than can easily be done in a letter; therefore I have resolved, if I be able, to come to London soon, that I may converse with your Lordship, and other friends, and give such information, as I will answer for.

The equivalent, payable for what Scotland will be burthened with of the debts of England, did incline many of the meaner people, to whom debts are owing, to favor the treaty, because they did not see any so ready way to come by payment. So it is plain, that if the equivalent be well managed, and duly applied to the ends mentioned in the articles, the content and satisfaction, it may give, will go very broad; and if otherwise, the disgust and reclaiming will go as broad. Therefore the choice and nomination of commissioners for that distribution needs to be with the greatest care, without too much regard to the parties which have differed, excepting those who are known Jacobites; for it is certain, if persons of honor and probity be entrusted in that Commission, it will signify much to

quiet the minds of very many. Yet in my opinion the choice is not to be hastily made, but upon the best information, seeing so much does evidently depend upon it. I must acknowledge, I have not been satisfied with some steps made here in that matter of the equivalent; and I would willingly labor to prevent, that there be no diverting any part of it from the ends, for which it has been designed; for every error of that will occasion dissatisfaction, and grumbling.

Our best friends here are much convinced of the good will and regard, our friends there have shewn to the common interest, and likewise of their discretion and tenderness in reference to Scotland in their whole progress and management, particularly the act concerning your church; and I am persuaded, if such a set of men continue alive, and have power in business, matters cannot fail to be so managed, as will give universal satisfaction.

As to your Lordship's question, I have written my opinion upon a paper apart here inclosed, so I shall trouble your Lordship no further now, but remain, in all sincerity,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Humble servant.

THE PAPER APART.

The way of the Scots parliament is, when any law is voted and ingrossed, when the commissioner calls for it, the chancellor subscribes upon the act his name, adding *Cancellar.*, and the initial letters of the words *In præsentiâ dominorum parlementi.* Then it is carried to the throne; and the commissioner, the title being read to him by the Lord Register, touches it with the sceptre, which is the symbol of the royal assent. This deed is kept in the records; and all to be afterwards got of the act is a duplicate subscribed by the Lord Register his name, adding *Clericus Registri*, which is called an extract. Afterwards, when the acts are publicly proclaimed, these extracts are printed by the Sovereign's printer by office, and added to the statute book. I suppose, our act of ratification, which was sent up, is so done in writing, and that your parliament will order it to be kept in the records. Now whatever is the way of your recording your acts of parliament, which is understood there to be authentical (which I am not acquainted with), will certainly be a sufficient document to be kept in our records of parliament here. But it will be necessary, that her Majesty send it down with a letter of her pleasure to the parliament, whereupon the parliament may by an . . . .[1] appoint the same to be recorded and kept among the other records of parliament.

[1] A word is effaced here.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Somers.

March 11th, 1707.

My Lord,

The gladsome news of the Queen's having given the royal assent to the union act, we have now got, very pleasing to many, though to some very unwelcome.

I hinted to your Lordship formerly, the fruits of this Union will much depend upon the cultivating of it. If that be done by wise and discreet hands, the consequences will be pleasant and advantageous; otherwise they may be as far in the contrary. Give me leave once more to tell your Lordship, that I have greater confidence of both your wisdom, honesty, and hearty concern in this matter, than of any other; therefore I keep no reserve in writing to you, and shall freely give your Lordship my opinion, which you may think on. My opinion is, that we need to have a British parliament, as soon as is possible, though the session should be very short. Time is precious, and the happenings in it very uncertain, especially what concern the actions of war. I am persuaded, that in a short time the parliament of Britain would put the union in so good a course, as would be very relishing in the commencement, if her Majesty be advised to call the parliament soon.

And I am confident, that the sooner our good friends there concern themselves in that part of the government, and administration of it, which relates more immediately to this northern part of the island, it will be by much the better. I will not now touch any particulars, though I have several to propose, and submit to your Lordship's judgment, which I must defer, till I get up[1]. I am informed, but I know not yet, what certainty is in it, that several persons here have got a call to come up with the commissioner, by whose procurement, I suppose, it is done; but I hear no mention made of several persons of equal understanding to any other, though they have had as great hand in carrying on the union, and in overcoming the difficulties which were insisted upon by the opposers, as any whosoever. I fear, that such distinction made in the beginning may be prejudicial; yet I will say no more of it, till I have the happiness to see your Lordship, which, health serving, I intend very soon.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's greatly obliged,

And most humble servant.

[1] To London.

[MEMORANDUM.]

Upon the 23d of October 1706 the parliament nominated a committee for examining the calculation of the equivalent.

OF THE NOBILITY.

Attended well. The Marquis of Montrose, Lord President of the Privy Council.
Attended not. The Duke of Argyle.
Attended well. The Marquis of Tweeddale.

OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR SHIRES.

Attended well. Sir Alexander Campbell of Cessnok, one of the Lords of Session.
Attended well. George Baillie of Jerviswood.
Attended well. John Haddon of Glenagies.

OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR BURGHS.

Attended well. Lieut.-Col. John Areskine.
Seldom. . . Robert Inglis, merchant.
Seldom. . . Hugh Montgomery, merchant.

The sub-committee for calculating the equivalent, and adjusting what related to the trade and customs, was Cessnok, Jerviswood, Glenagies.

The two last were against the Union.

Several other matters being afterwards remitted to the same committee, to prepare and report, an addition was made to the number on the 28th of November, viz.—

OF THE NOBILITY.

Attended well. The Earl of Haddington.
Seldom. . . The Earl of Cromartie.

The sub-committee for stating the debt to the African company was Montrose, Haddington, Cessnok, Minto, Sir Peter Halket, Sir John Areskine.

Seldom and cross, being against the union. } OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR SHIRES.
Sir Gilbert Eliot of Minto, one of the Lords of Session.

Seldom. . . Sir Thomas Burnet of Leyes.

OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR BURGHS.

Attended well. Sir John Areskine.
Attended well. Sir Peter Halket.

} The sub-committee for adjusting public debts and the coin was Tweeddale, Haddington, Cessnok, Minto, Jerviswood, Glenagies, Sir Peter Halket, Sir John Areskine, Robert Inglis, and Hugh Montgomery.

This committee was at much pains, acted very diligently, and made several reports to the House upon what was remitted to them. But especially those of the sub-committees, who did attend, were at extraordinary pains.

Those, who were called the new party, or the Squadron, being twenty-four in number, who stuck close together in their voting, were such members of the House, as upon many accounts were dissatisfied with the management and measures of the Duke of Queensberry, and the ministers joined with him; and who, if the weight, and consequence of the union had not prevailed with them, would certainly have gone cross, yet concurred heartily, and with much pains, till the articles were adjusted, and approven. And it is plain, that, if they had joined to the opposing side, the treaty would not

have been approven, for upon the first question of approving the first article, 22 of the Squadron being present, the approvers besides them were 93, the noes were 83, with whom if the 22 had joined, the vote had been lost by 15[1].

Upon the next question on the articles, 'proceed 'to the second article, or to the fourth,' 23 of the Squadron being present, the votes besides them for the second article were 88, for the fourth article were 84, with whom if the Squadron had joined, the vote had been lost by 15[2].

Upon the question, 'approve the third article, or 'not,' 23 of the Squadron being present, the approvers besides them were 90, the noes 82, with whom if the 23 had joined, the vote had been lost by 14[3].

Upon a question about the excise of ale and beer in the seventh article, 22 of the Squadron being present, the approvers besides them were 92, the noes 80, with which if the Squadron had joined, the vote would have been lost by 10.

Upon the question, 'approve of the fourteenth 'article, or not,' 21 of the Squadron being present, the approvers besides them were 84, the noes 66, to whom if the 21 had joined, the vote had been lost by 3.

Upon the question, 'approve the twenty-second

[1] This number should be 12. [2] This number should be 19.
[3] This number should be 15.

'article, or not,' 20 of the Squadron being present, the approvers besides them were 83, the noes 65, to whom if the 20 had joined, the vote had been lost by 2.

Upon a question for a formula to be sworn to, or not, by persons bearing office, 21 of the Squadron being present, the noes besides them were 87, the yeas 63, with whom if the 21 had joined, the vote would have been lost by 7[1].

Upon the question for choosing, or not, the members for Scotland of the members of the present House, 22 of the Squadron being present, the yeas besides them were 61, the noes 65, to whom if the 22 had joined, the vote would have been lost by 26.

Upon the great question, 'approve of the Act 'ratifying the Treaty of Union, or not,' 21 of the Squadron being present, the yeas besides them were 88, the noes 69, to whom if the Squadron had joined, the vote had been lost by 2.

If any of these questions had miscarried, the Union would have been stopped[2].

[1] It should be, instead of 'lost by 7,' 'carried by 3.'

[2] There can be no doubt, but that the conclusions drawn in this paper respecting members must be accurate, and that the errors, stated in the notes subjoined to it, must arise from inaccuracies in some of the figures, as written in the manuscript.

Mr. Robert Pringle to P. Earl of Marchmont[1].

[Extract.]

London, July 20th, 1708.

My Lord,

On Friday last I received your Lordship's of the 10th, with a scheme of the vote in the election of the peers, and with letters for the Duke of Devonshire, the Earls of Sunderland and Wharton, the Lords Somers and Halifax, and two for the Duke of Roxburgh. On Saturday morning they were all

[1] Lord Marchmont, who had been an unsuccessful candidate at the first election of sixteen Scots representative peers, which took place at the union, was equally unsuccessful, when he stood again on the general election, which followed the dissolution of parliament on the 15th April, 1708.

The Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had wished to conciliate the Whigs, and to obtain Queen Anne's consent to the introduction of Lord Somers into the cabinet without an office; but she positively refused that consent. The Whigs, irritated by exclusion, caballed with the Jacobites, and made common cause with them in the contests on the dissolution of parliament, especially in Scotland; and thus we find Lord Marchmont on the Duke of Hamilton's list, whilst the government list was in the hands of the Duke of Queensberry. The letters, of which Mr. Pringle acknowledges the receipt, were written by Lord Marchmont to demand the aid of his friends in England in support of his pretensions, as he conceived, that he ought to have been returned, as having had a majority of legal votes. Whilst Lord Godolphin appears to have been holding an uncertain conduct, the Duke of Marlborough's perspicuous mind saw clearly at this time, that the Tories would be his enemies, and that it was to the Whigs, that he had to look for support. He expresses himself thus in a printed letter to the Duchess of Marlborough of the 26th July, 1708: 'I no ways doubt, but that the Tories will endeavor, all they can, 'to vex me. But I hope, the Whigs will support me in this war; and then I 'don't doubt but to bring France to such a peace, as they desire.'

delivered, except that to my Lord Sunderland, whom I could not meet with till afternoon. The Duke of Devonshire and Earl of Wharton being out of town, I recommended the letters to them to their servants, who promised to take care of them.

These noble Lords spoke all very freely to me on the subject of your Lordship, and in such a way, as satisfies me, that they will lay themselves out to serve your Lordship in what you ask, as they desired me to assure your Lordship, if they do not succeed, it is because they have no interest. I had occasion to entertain my Lord Somers very long, both on that and the other subject of your Lordship's other letters to him, to which he said his sickness had hitherto hindered him to give a return, but should not delay it long. He seemed to be very sensible that my Lord Tr.[1] had of late shewn little regard to their recommendation, so as in some measure to go out of his ordinary road of a cautious and prudent management between parties, which he could not attribute to anything but his Lordship's opinion of a support in a parliament from those, whose interest he espouses so much, and who have had the dexterity to make it be believed here, that, of the forty-five members returned for the North, at least forty are at their devotion, but that he doubted not, but his Lordship might be disappointed. He seems to have a good opinion of the validity of the objections made against the votes of several peers

[1] The Lord Treasurer Lord Godolphin.

though he thinks some, and particularly that against English peers having a vote, not very well founded, by reason of that clause in the last act of parliament about the election of the sixteen peers, which, I doubt not, but your Lordship has under consideration; but it was his opinion, that whatever were the private thoughts of any person about these objections, none of them were by any means to be laid aside, but all to be insisted on, for he had often known the sentiments of private persons and the House very different. He seems very positive, that the Duke of Dover[1] can pretend to no vote.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Mr. J. Dickson[2] of Anton's Hill.

Red Braes, July 23d, 1708.

Sir,

I send you here inclosed by Robert Bowie, Sir Andrew Hume's servant, Queen Anne's gift of a pension for 500*l.* sterling yearly to me, dated at St. James's January 29th, 1702-3, with the privy seal at it whole and entire; item, a precept by three of the Lords of Thesaury on the receiver of her Majesty's rents for payment to me of 500*l.* sterling, due

[1] The Duke of Queensberry was created Duke of Dover in May 1708.

[2] His private Secretary.

for the terms of Whitsuntide and Martinmas, 1703; item, another precept by the same three Lords of Thesaury upon the receiver of her Majesty's rents for payment to me of 500*l.* sterling, due for the terms of Whitsuntide and Martinmas, 1704; item, another precept by the same three Lords of Thesaury upon the receiver of her Majesty's rents for payment to me of 500*l.* sterling, due for the terms of Whitsuntide and Martinmas, 1705. These three precepts are of one date, the 19th February 1706, signed by the Earls of Forfar and Glasgow, and Mr. Francis Montgomery; item, another precept by three Lords of the Thesaury upon the receivers of her Majesty's rents for payment to me of 250*l.* sterling, due for the term of Whitsuntide, 1706; item, another precept by the same three Lords upon the receivers of her Majesty's rents for payment to me of 250*l.* sterling, due for the term of Martinmas, 1706. These two last precepts are signed of one date, the 21st January, 1707, by the Earls of Seafield, Lord Chancellor, and Forfar and Glasgow; item, another precept by three Lords of Thesaury upon the receivers of her Majesty's rents for payment to me of 250*l.* sterling, due for the term of Whitsuntide, 1707, dated 7th May, 1707, signed by the Earls of Northesk and Glasgow, and Mr. Francis Montgomery. Take care of these writings, and that by the advice of Sir Andrew Hume and Sir Walter Pringle application be made to the Lords of Exche-

quer for obtaining to me what is further necessary for getting me payment of these precepts conform to the act of parliament, *anno* 6° *Annæ Reginæ*, intituled, 'An act for the further directing the payment of the Equivalent;' and see that this be done without delay, that there may be no defect in the point of diligence. I send you likewise here the certificate relating to the whole precepts dated the 29th day of April, 1707, signed by the Earls of Forfar and Glasgow, and Mr. Francis Montgomery, registral in the register appointed for recording the certificates 3d Sept. 1707. Write to me as soon as you can, what you get done in this matter. This from your affectionate friend to serve you.

Mr. Robert Pringle to P. Earl of Marchmont.

[Extract.]

St. Alban's, August 2d, 1708.

The present situation of the court appears pretty odd. The Treasurer, who has the sole management, seems to have little deference for the Whig lords, of which they seem themselves very sensible; and at the same time it is hard to imagine, how he shall be able to support himself without them.

Some talk of attempts and interviews towards a

good correspondence between him and the Tories, which still seems more odd, that he should take a party by the hand, that seems weaker this, than they were the last session of parliament. All this a little time shall unriddle.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lieutenant Robert Trumble of Colonel Grant's regiment.

Red Braes Castle,
Monday, October 11th, 1708.

Sir,

I have your letter of the 7th current, which I have considered seriously. I am enough sensible of your kindness to, and concern for my niece, your wife, which you may be sure is very engaging to me; and my advice and assistance to my power shall never be wanting to you. I acknowledge, your circumstances, and the treatment you have met with, make it more difficult how to advise you. The way, I take, is to put myself in your case, and to tell you, what I would do, if the case were mine, in the age that I am of; but before I tell you my opinion, I will shew you the grounds I go upon. Every man, when come to years of discretion, ought to choose the way, which he intends to follow for his living in the world. This is a choice to be made

with great consideration, and with regard to one's capacity, natural disposition, and means of following out what may be resolved to fix upon; but when the choice is made, *jacta est alea.* Rarely a change is made without disadvantage, unless it be, that one having in a troublesome, and perhaps dangerous way of living, acquired a substance whereupon to retire, give over the former way, and live comfortably with a family suitable to his rank in the world. If this last is the posture of your circumstances, you may be very free what to choose, without advice from me or from any other. If it is not, then there is ground of asking and giving advice. And, supposing it so, I shall now tell you, what, if the case were mine, I would do, which is plainly this: I would, depending upon the good providence of God, follow on in the way and course, which under his providence I had chosen; and nothing but invincible disability would divert me from it. The reason of this determined humor of mine is, that I know, I cannot be out of my landlord's territories. I know, that his protection is as good by sea as by land; I know, that death strikes as often in the closet and the warm chamber, as in the camp; how many more the cup kills than the cannon, the belly than the bullet. And I have experience, that sobriety, civil carriage, and a reasonable care, and precaution, are enough, with the blessing of God, to make one easy and safe in any place or country under the sun; and now I can say no more; but

whatever you resolve, I expect to see you here; and praying the Lord to guide and direct you in all your ways, I remain your very loving uncle, to serve you a good turn [1].

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord [2] Somers, President of the Council.

[Extract.]

January 13th, 1709.

These three castles [3] cannot signify much for defending the countries, which lie about them, not being capable of great garrisons, nor lying (except

[1] Letters from Lord Marchmont to the Earl of Orkney, Lieutenant-General of her Majesty's forces, and to her other general officers, of the 1st June 1709, strongly recommend this officer for promotion; and there are later letters to the same effect. He had been in the Darien expedition.

[2] The House of Commons had directed an inquiry to be made into the state of the Scots fortresses, in consequence of the French attempt to invade Scotland in March 1708. It was with his accustomed judgment, that Lord Marchmont addressed himself to Lord Somers on matters affecting Scotland. Somerville attests the especial interest he took in the matters most interesting to her. When speaking of the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council, which took place in 1708, he expresses himself thus: 'Lord Somers exerted himself with 'uncommon ardor and diligence in promoting a measure so essential to the 'liberty of Scotland; and as he had been principally useful in advising and 'directing all the previous steps of the Treaty of Union, to his persevering and 'consistent patriotism posterity stands indebted for the speedy dissolution of a 'tyrannical jurisdiction, which might long have intercepted the most substantial 'benefits of that meritorious transaction.'

[3] Of Stirling, Dumbarton, and Edinburgh.

Dumbarton) upon a navigable river. The place most capable of being strongly fortified, and, if so, would be of best use for the country's defence, and for the safety of her Majesty's ships upon occasions, is the town of Leith, which is the port of the city of Edinburgh, lying a mile distant from it. It is situated on a plain upon the river of Forth, which is wide, large, and navigable for twenty miles south-east of the town, and ten or twelve miles to the west; it has a fine road, and a good harbor, and is certainly well worth the expence of fortifying, being capable of a considerable garrison, and if it were made strong, would signify much more for the defence of the country than any other place lying on the south or west side of the river of Forth. The usurper Oliver made a strong citadel here, which was very useful to him. After the Restoration it was destroyed, as all other works of that sort in this country were.

Fort William at Inverlochy, which lies far north, in a country which has been very disorderly and troublesome, was formerly very useful, is so still, and certainly may be so, if kept in sufficient repair, with a good garrison. Some of the works about it have been lately repaired and strengthened. What needs more to be done cannot amount to much expence. Next to the town of Leith no place in this country deserves more to be well fortified.

P. Earl of Marchmont to John Ker[1] *of Cavers, Esq.*

Feb. 3d, 1709.

I cannot, without 'alas!' often repeated, write to you in your present sad case and circumstances, [on] which I condole with very much concern. I wish I was as able to consolate, as I am inclined. All I can do is, as a Christian and loving friend to intreat you, that you will by no means permit your grief to divert your mind and heart from regarding with humility and dependence the high hand, which has afflicted you and your family; but bear the rod and Him who has appointed it, that you may be profited by it; for it is he alone, that can make the bitter to produce a sweetness; yet remember, that our merciful God afflicts not but for our sins: examine yourself diligently, how you have provoked him; examine, what had been the effects upon you of former chastisements of this sort, or any other; and as no doubt you will find good reason to do, take resolutions of more watchfulness and care to order yourself and your ways, so as may be most pleasing to the Great Observer, with whom you have to do, who has a witness within you, which never sleeps. In many sorrowful occasions we are apt to lay hold, and rest too much upon supports and stays,

[1] The consort of Patrick Earl of Marchmont was a daughter of Sir Thomas Ker of Cavers.

which to us seem nearest at hand; but in this case, certainly there is no support of any value but from the immediate hand of God, which is sufficient in all ages. Forget never that great and certain truth,—the Lord will be with you while you are with him; and if you seek him, he will be found of you; but if you forsake him, he will forsake you. In the last of these words lies open a very comfortable note, that the first forsaking must be of our side, and will not be of his.

It adds to my grief, that I am not able to wait upon the funeral of my cousin, whom I esteemed and honored so much; but since Friday last I have been so bad of a confusion and disorder in my head, with a giddiness, and all the symptoms in my body of an ague coming on, that I have been tied to my room, and but very little upon foot, able to do nothing but using means to prevent an ague, which in my age might prove very dangerous. I earnestly pray the Lord to send his mercy and favor to the condition and need of you and your numerous young family, and am, Sir, your humble servant, and perfectly affectionate and concerned cousin.

My dear cousin, I take a great liberty in writing to you, because I know to whom I write, that you will consider, and not make light of it. There are too many in this odd age we live in, that would make but a jest of all I have said. Such is their unhappiness and folly; but wisdom is justified of her children.

P. Earl of Marchmont to George Baillie, Esq. of Jerviswood.

[Extract.]

Feb. 12th, 1708-9.

I got yours of the 6th yesternight by Mr. Dickson. It affords matter of thinking at some leisure, and a health fitter for it than mine is at this time, that I am struggling against an ague; but the weather being so cold, and the frost so hard, I do believe, hinders the prevailing of means, so as otherwise they might. My opinion in the general, whereby you may guess at me, is now *jacta est alea.* There ought to be no giving over designs undoubtedly good; all honest means must be used; when one fails, another must be tried. It is better to be upon the stage of business, and to wait a bit for doing good, than to be quite off, not to have an opportunity. Princes ever choose the persons, by whom they would be served; and none ought to scarr at the company, into which they enter, if they are firmly enough resolved not to be led out of the way by any whatsoever. Judge by this of me[1]. So soon as I had assurance, that the Queen was not to have a secretary for Scots affairs in a kind of separate manner from the affairs of Britain, but was to add a third secretary in the office, it made me so

[1] There are indications in this letter, and in that to Mr. Cunningham, of the 19th of this month, that Lord Marchmont had sought the post of Secretary of State, induced so to do no doubt by Lord Somers having come into office.

easy, that knowing no immortal man was to be found to put in that post, I had a great indifference as to persons, seeing I could have no hand in the choosing; but I shall not insist, it being somewhat uneasy to me.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain.

Feb. 16th, 1708-9.

My Lord,

Being abundantly convinced, that one, who has not opportunities to serve, and be steedable to his friend, ought to take great care not to be troublesome to him—this has made me delay writing to your Lordship, since the time I had the honor of one from you, wherein you are pleased to give me ground of hoping, that you will concern yourself to obtain for Sir Andrew Hume a place on the Bench of Exchequer here, till it might be a fit time to put your Lordship again in remembrance of the matter. I am sure, what favor and kindness I meet with will be very engaging upon me; and occasions may happen, wherein to give evidence of it, which I will watch for, and likewise endeavour after all that I can. It is true, being now sixty-eight years of age, I cannot reasonably reckon upon many years; yet I am healthful, and, except for bodily fatigue and quick travelling, as capable of serving my sove-

reign, country, and friends, as ever I had been, and have as good heart and readiness to do it, if occasions require. My cousin, Mr. Pringle's sickness has no doubt hindered his waiting upon your Lordship to know your commands to me, or concerning me and my son; but when he is so far recovered, as that he can do it, he will certainly be putting your Lordship in remembrance of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble servant, in much sincerity.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Devonshire.

Wednesday, February 16th, 1708-9.

My Lord,

The decision[1] made by the House of Lords having put an end to my pretensions for serving my sovereign and country in parliament at this time, I cannot regret my part of the event, knowing that they, who are preferred, are altogether as capable of serving well, as I can pretend [to be], though I may justly assert, that none of them can be more concerned and earnest for the support of the happy Revolution establishment, the succession in the Protestant line, and the entire and close union of the two kingdoms into one, than I would have been, if I

[1] The decision against his claim to sit as one of the sixteen Scots peers as having been duly elected at the general election of 1708.

had had the honor to be of that house. I may perhaps yet have opportunities to give proof of what I affirm; but I know I am so happy [as] to have your Grace believing what I say of this sort, without new evidence.

I have written again to my Lord Thesaurer for obtaining the vacant place of Baron of Exchequer for Sir Andrew Hume, which his Lordship in a letter to me gave me ground to hope for. If your Grace will remember to concern yourself in the matter, so as you have done, I doubt not, but it will be done. My son Polwarth is recovered a great deal; but the frost is so great here with extraordinary cold weather, that he is forced to keep much within doors. He is resolved to begin his journey for London as soon in March, as the weather is seasonable, and the road fit enough for his chariot's going, which is the only way of travelling fit for him at this time. I intend to send along the galloway[1] I had sought out for your Grace, which, I believe, will be fit for your purpose; it could not be sent sooner because of the weather and roads; and a safer way from being harmed, or any way spoiled in the taking up, I could not have fallen upon. I hope, your Grace has got my letter of the 13th January last, with the memorial which I put in it,

[1] Lord Marchmont, in a letter to the Duke of Devonshire of the 21st April 1709, in which he informs his Grace, that this horse had begun his journey, speaks thus of this particular race:—'they are hard to be got of the 'right breeding, which began in that country from the Spanish horses cast in 'there in the 1588.'

and one of the 19th, which Mr. Douglas of Newcastle carried.

Now I will only add, that I shall be very careful, so long as I live, that your Grace and your family, and the many noble relations I have in England, may never have reason to be ashamed of having countenanced me and my family so much, nor to judge me altogether unworthy of the favors and kindness we have met with, being with the greatest respect, .

My Lord,
Your Grace's most obedient, most humble,
And faithful Servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Alexander Cunningham, Esq.

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle,
Saturday, Feb. 19th, 1709.

Sir,

I heartily thank you for the satisfaction you gave me of a letter from you. The kind notice and remembrance of a friend cannot be more engaging to any than to me. I did intend to have been there this winter; though I am sensible enough, how little it could have signified to the public service, yet the opportunity of conversing with friends there was what I was earnest for, and would have been very

delightful to me. Now that I am not of the House of Lords in this parliament, I cannot hope so soon to see many friends, I have there, as I would desire. I am, and will be still a well-wisher to honest things and honest men; and I am confident, nothing can bring me so low, sickness excepted, as to make me give over endeavouring, so far as able, to serve both: opportunities may yet happen, wherein I may have occasion to make good what I say.

The Queen's choice of whom she thinks fit to serve her, is still acceptable to me. Without being lord of my own inclinations, my greatest concern in reference to that of the secretary was, that whoever the person should be, the office were of the State of Great Britain, and that this part of the kingdom should not be cast into the hand of a distinct and different secretary,—a place which had been abused, and continued a long grievance to Scotland, with many complaints against it. But I am not much for looking back, save to take warning from things that are past. Now that we are one kingdom, if all the subjects fare alike, mete with one measure, and run the same fortune, I am very well satisfied, will promote it all I can, and go cross to whatever I find contrary.

I am in great doubt about myself, whether to think, that I am *non notus*, or *nimis notus*. Truly if it can be a blemish to any man to be inflexible from the happy Revolution establishment, the securing the protestant succession to the crown, and the

strengthening and improving the union of the two kingdoms, which her Majesty has so happily accomplished to her eternal fame, then I lie under a very heavy burden, and I will bear it without repining; and my grounds being such, as can bear me, I will never quit them.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Queen Anne.

[Extract.]

Redbraes Castle,
March 1st, 1709.

Madam,

It has been a great misfortune to me, that I could not be so happy as to see your Majesty this winter, which I would have endeavoured, if sickness in my family had not hindered me, till the weather came so bad, that I could not adventure to travel. This is the reason, that I presume to trouble your Majesty in this sort, hoping, that as I always have had ready and gracious access to your Majesty's ear, my humble writing may find acceptance. I cannot forbear condoling the heavy affliction[1], which it has pleased God to try your Majesty with; few persons, so private as I am, have greater reason to do it, for few could meet with more affable and obliging treatment from that excellent prince, than

[1] Lord Marchmont here adverts to the death of Prince George of Denmark, which took place on the 28th October 1708.

I still did on every application to him. But I have reason to be convinced, that your Majesty knows well how to be humble under the hand, with whom you have to do; and that, being so, his Majesty will bestow effectual comfort and support upon you, which the whole world besides cannot do. Being now deprived of my principal intercessor, upon whom I relied most, when I had any suit to your Majesty, I know not, how far it may please God to make up that loss to me by your Majesty's good favor and countenance.

A Memorandum[1] *for Mr. Waddel, made by P. Earl of Marchmont.*

[Extract.]

May 7th, 1709.

I observed likewise in the harvest time, when they were reaping their corn, that a man mowed

[1] This person appears to have been tutor to some cousin of Lord Marchmont's then studying at Utrecht, to whom this memorandum was addressed. Lord Marchmont's sagacity had enabled him to perceive that the instrument for reaping corn, which he speaks of, was worthy of importation. It is the Hainault scythe, or piquet. This implement, and the staff used with it, are described in the communications to the Board of Agriculture. The use of them may be learned from a practical instructor in the course of two or three days at the utmost, as was ascertained in the south of Hampshire nearly twenty years ago. The Hainault mower does exactly twice the work of the reaper, as he cuts a statute acre of wheat in the day, saving moreover all the corn and all

down the oats with a short scythe, which he managed with his right hand, holding in his left hand like a staff, with an iron pin about seven or eight inches long going off square upon the lower end, by which he gathered the corn, which he cut with his scythe. What I saw cut was but short; yet they did not pull up any by the roots to bind the sheaves, in which way in moist years causes abundance of corn here to go ill in the stacks, the roots of the crops being so long of drying. . . .

. . . . . .

Likewise let me know the ordinary breadth of their barns, and of the stalls where their cattle stand; likewise whether in cutting down the corn with the hand scythe and staff the mower strikes under the staff or above it, for my servants cannot make use of one of those, I brought hither, till they be better instructed.

the straw; and with very much less fatigue to himself, as he stoops but little in his work. These instruments, which may be seen in use from French Flanders to Guelderland, are the best of any known for cutting all crops excepting grass and clover, and especially all such as are laid. Prejudice and want of exertion appear to have mainly prevented the introduction of them into England. The mower strikes under the staff, the shaft of which he uses to steady the standing corn, so that it may not shed the grain.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Viscount Polwarth.

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle,
June 30th, 1709.

I have been so perplexed and disordered by the sickness of your niece[1] Grisell Baillie, who since the 10th current has been dangerously ill of a spotted fever, very malignant, that the physicians had no hope of her recovery till Tuesday, since which time she has been somewhat better, albeit in all appearance she may come slowly out of it, that I could scarce mind any business, which has been the reason, that I made no return to your's of the 28th May, and of the 3d, and 20th current.

[1] Lord Marchmont announces to the Dowager Lady Polwarth, in a letter of the 12th August 1710, the marriage of his grand-daughter, Grisell Baillie, to Mr. Murray, as about to take place immediately. This was the accomplished Lady Murray, author of the Memoirs of Mr. George Baillie and the Lady Grisell Baillie, her parents.

Lord Marchmont says in this letter, 'You know that Mr. Murray, younger 'of Stanhope, son to Sir David, has long been a suitor of my grandchild, 'Grisell Baillie. Now in end parties and friends have come to an agreement 'very suddenly at one meeting; and because of some uncertainty of Jervis-'wood's stay in this country, they are to be proclaimed thrice on Sunday next, 'having concluded upon the terms of contract on Thursday last, and in a pri-'vate way are to be married upon Wednesday.' This, like many other sudden resolutions, on such matters especially, proved to be a very unhappy one, as productive of great misery to her through a strange and most painful infirmity in the mind of her husband, which broke out the day after the wedding, and for which not even her virtues and amiable qualities offered a cure. If

P. Earl of Marchmont to Robert Pringle, Esq.

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle,
July 9th, 1709.

Some things[1], which have happened of late relating to me, inclined me to think, that friends there began to look upon me as a decayed man; and, I am sure, they can better judge of me, than I can do of myself. If their good will towards me, and kindness for me, which, I am persuaded, are large enough, make them not too partial in their opinion of me, I am not indeed sensible of any decay, in what understanding ever I had; but I fear, decays of that sort, and the person's sense of it, seldom meet together; so that others must be judges, and not oneself. I know my principles, which are inveterate, and not hastily taken up, are unchangeable with me.

there was any precipitation in concluding this union, her share of it is the more intelligible, as she was then only seventeen years of age. A legal separation from her husband became unavoidable; and it took place in March 1714. (See the Appendix to the abovementioned Memoirs, No. 5.)

[1] Lord Marchmont had failed in his endeavor to have his son, Sir Andrew Hume, made one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland. He probably also adverts to his failing to obtain the office which he appears to have sought.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Viscount Polwarth at Nottingham.

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle,
Tuesday, July 19th, 1709.

What I wrote by the post of the 16th, the day I got yours of the 13th by an express from Berwick, you will consider. Perhaps what I have met with since may oblige you to some other methods. I send you inclosed two of Mr. B.'s[1], which you will take care of, for I had not time to write their contents. I had got letters lately from the Duke of Devonshire and the Lord Somers with pathetic expressions of kindness to me and my family, and giving some account of the misgiving of Andrew's business, which was a surprise upon them as well as me. I have the like from the Earl of Sunderland in very kind expressions. Perhaps that disappointment may make other things, wherein I or my family are concerned, be the more taken notice [of]. I have written to these three in return to what I had from them, and inclosed them in one to Mr. Pringle, which you may consider. Here is a copy of what I have written to all three about your affair, &c.

[1] Mr. Baillie's.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Somers.

[Extract.]

July 19th, 1709.

I have ever been of opinion, that the laws and the trials relating to treason were safer in England than in Scotland; I mean, that innocent persons were more safe, and the guilty as obnoxious; and I am so still. But if any point be found otherwise, I have already mentioned the remedy; and I conceive, it ought to satisfy reasonable men, that we are all in one bottom, and alike [1].

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Somers, President of the Council.

[Extract.]

October 31st, 1709.

My Lord,

I much need to satisfy your Lordship of the reasons, which have occasioned my delay of acknowledging the honor you did me by your letter of the

[1] There are full communications made in the course of this year by Lord Marchmont to his friends in England respecting the change, which took place in the Scottish law affecting trials for treason, which was assimilated to that of England, and respecting the Sacramental Test.

7th July, and of giving a return to it. My reasons were, which the import of your Lordship's letter necessarily led me to, that I might the better inquire into the motives, which induced the members for these northern parts to follow the methods, which they took, and to reason with them freely, yet with some tenderness, about it; that I might fully convince them of the necessity of keeping close to those who have given proof, to full demonstration, of their sound principles, and steady progress in prosecuting designs, which undoubtedly tend to the common good; and that to separate about the emthods, where the end and design are the same, may prove a fatal error, and endanger the miscarrying of what is aimed at. It is almost ever a difficult thing, in reasoning upon matters done and past, to get mistakes or omissions acknowledged. It is well, if greater care and caution can be engaged of steps yet to be made, which I endeavor, by all means that I think likeliest to prevail with those, who have hand in business. I must confess, my way of dealing is still very smooth; and long experience has convinced me, that it is the best way with our people. The circumstances of my past time, my deportment in the employments wherein I had served, and experience and age, have that influence upon some persons of the greatest sufficiency and significance in these parts, that I cannot deny, they are enough inclined to know my opinion, and to have some deference to it, but, as I now said, with

a difference betwixt things done, and things to be done. What may be the effect of pains I have taken, I know not, but hope that it will be good to the satisfaction of your Lordship, and of those there, in whom I have a perfect confidence. It cannot reasonably be expected that great affairs will be done by the lump, as a day's journey cannot be made in an hour. There is a necessity to proceed step by step, and well to consider the way, which leads to the journey's end. I have thought, and do think, the treason bill a good step, and what leadeth to a further improvement of the union, by drawing the two countries, betwixt which no disparity is to be admitted, still closer and closer; and I am hopeful, others will be convinced of it, and that it will appear in the ensuing session by a freer correspondence and better understanding among worthy persons, who aim at the same good designs for the public welfare.

I had lately the honor of your Lordship's of the 13th current, which puts me to a difficulty how to express my sense of, and thankfulness for, the great pains your Lordship has been at in obtaining from her Majesty the great favor to my son Polwarth, about the regiment[1] which he commanded, seeing the condition of his health renders him as yet unable to attend the service. Words are too weak in this case. If I can be able to act a thankful part

[1] Lord Polwarth had obtained permission to dispose of his regiment of dragoons in consequence of confirmed ill health.

in [rendering] your Lordship any effectual service, I will ever endeavor. . . . . My cousin, Mr. Pringle, Secretary to the Earl of Sunderland, has given me so full an account of the kind part your Lordship has acted in this and every concern of mine and my children, as engages me in the strictest sort to all manner of gratitude upon every opportunity, which may happen to us.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Mr. Robert Pringle.

Red Braes Castle,
Monday, Oct. 31st, 1709.

Cousin,

It is like you are longing for a return from me to yours of the 30th July; but when you consider the subject and import of that letter, you will not think it strange, that I could not do it sooner, the business having such difficulties in it, as I could not clear of myself. I think you know that I had so far concurred in the advice about settling the office[1] in the general, that I had spoke to the Queen about it, our friends there, so far as I can remember, being satisfied of the general scheme. It is true, when it came to be formed into practice, it was done in a

[1] This letter appears to refer to the office of a third Secretary of State.

way not agreeable to my opinion or advice, even abstracting from persons to be intrusted, who were at the Queen's choosing, either by her own inclination, or by the influence of those about her. I soon discerned, that the resolution taken in the general as to that matter was very acceptable to all of this country, who are friends to the Revolution establishment, and to the union. Albeit several were dissatisfied both with the person employed, and with the limits of his employment. Things being so, I needed, as one to pass a deep river, to try for a safe ford, which could not be done in a short time. After trial, with all the skill and discretion that I could, among persons of all principles and parties in this country, I find, and am convinced, that whoever would move and advise the dropping of the third, and the continuing of two only, would lose all credit and esteem in this country, and be reduced to an utter incapacity of being any way useful and serviceable to the common interest, or to our friends there, who are at so much pains to support it; so that, trying but at a distance, I could scarce do it so as to bring myself fairly off. And I plainly see that the union, though settled, is not yet so habitual to people here, as to admit of such a motion so early. I am satisfied, that the change, which seemed to be intended, was more of persons, and that to the worse too, than of measures. But the expedient proposed, in my opinion would be

more disliked than any of the persons, though I can see no reason of great weight for it, as matters have been ordered. But indeed I should be very sorry, if I had reason to think, that there are not many of this country, who would keep a perfect correspondence, and join in measures heartily with friends of that country for the support of the Revolution establishment, and for improving the union to the universal advantage of the kingdom of Great Britain, and for supporting the Queen in her government, in the grandeur of it, so as to make it most comfortable, pleasant, and easy to [us], that, as she has been a great blessing to these nations, she may still continue to be so. I know my Lord S.[1] too well, to think that any particular concern of his will give him a bias in affairs of this nature; and therefore to him and to other friends, such as he, whom you know, and from whom I can keep no reserve, you may communicate my thoughts, which I hope I have explained so as to be understood.

I am, Sir, &c.

[1] Lord Somers.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Devonshire.

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle,
Monday, Oct. 31st, 1709.

My Lord,

I have had a full account from my cousin Mr. Pringle, secretary to the Earl of Sunderland, of the earnest concern in, and great pains your Grace has been at for me and my children, whereby that affair about my son Polwarth's regiment is brought to an issue so advantageous and satisfactory to us. I and my family have met with so many and great obligations from your Grace, as do and will ever engage us to study all ways of acting thankfulness to your Grace, and your family, upon every opportunity that can give occasion for it, so long as any of us live in the world. The House of Bedford has been our constant patrons; and it is a joy to me, that your Grace, and the other relations of it, are pleased to continue the like kindness towards us, so that I may assert, that as my good Lady Russell has a life-rent title, so your Grace and the families of her children have a title of inheritance to all the services and good offices, which I, my children, and family at any time be able to perform. And I hope your Grace will not take this as compliment, for there can nothing be more sincere and designed, than what I now express to your Grace.

My son Polwarth is recovering, but it is slowly. He is so sensible of cold, that he adventures little to go abroad, and will be obliged to a very strict and wary conduct during this winter season, which begins very smartly here.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Robert Pringle, Esq.

Kelso[1], Saturday, Nov. 26th, 1709.

Dear Cousin,

I must now give you the sad news of my dear son the Lord Polwarth's death, whom the Lord took yesterday morning at three o'clock with a very gentle and soft hand, without any appearance of agony or pain to him, having continued understanding and senses with him until the very last. I can say no more, but that all about him had the comfort to see great evidences of his separating happily in the faith and hope of God's mercies. Wishing that you may never be under such a weight of grief, as I now am,

I remain unchangeably yours.

[1] Repairs carrying on at Red Braes rendered it impossible, that Lord Polwarth should pass the winter there. His father therefore moved him to Kelso, as a place standing 'upon a dry sand, low, and warm.'

P. Earl of Marchmont to John Douglas[1]*, Esq. in Newcastle upon Tyne.*

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle,
Thursday, Jan. 26th, 1710.

Sir,

The great confidence I have in you occasions my giving you this trouble. There is a relation of mine, a young gentleman, heir of an honorable Knight's family, and of a good land estate, who, having a design to offer his suit to a young lady, that resides in Newcastle, Mistress C. L., daughter of Sir C. L., for marriage, has acquainted me of it, and been earnest for my advice how to proceed in it. He gave so good a character of the young lady, as convinced me enough of his passion; and what he desired of me could not but convince me of his prudence and discretion. Considering the quality of his family, which is very honorable, is and ever has been of great esteem and respect in the country, and the young gentleman's own credit, my opinion to him was, that he should some way try, if the young lady or her friends are not now engaged in treaty of her marriage to any other person. This the gentleman yielded to; but not knowing by what means to make the trial, finding him puzzled about

[1] Father-in-law to Sir Andrew Hume, Lord Marchmont's youngest son.

it, I, calling you to remembrance, whose prudence I am so well acquainted with, undertook that part; and this is the subject, wherein I would entreat your favor, and that, after you have examined, you will, as soon as can be, acquaint me what you find. We know, that youth and love are not usually very patient. As for the young gentleman, I know, and you may rely upon it, he is a fine youth, sober, virtuous, and diligent in his affairs. He has travelled much abroad, and thereby greatly improved his parts. He is a handsome man; but this we must leave to the lady to judge of. His family is honorable and ancient, whereof his house is the root and stock. His land estate is very considerable in the reckoning of this country, and he as likely to improve it, as can be hoped of a young gentleman. The experience I have of your prudence and skill, and of your good will towards me, make me very assured, that you will be at pains in this matter, which will add much to the many obligations you and your family have put upon me.

P. Earl of Marchmont to George Baillie, Esq. of Jerviswood.

Red Braes Castle,
Jan. 31st, 1709—10.

You have here a letter to me from Mr. Bell, stationer, wherein he tells me, that he is a publishing

an account (as it seems is usual) of those officers of the army, who happened to die, together with a character of them, and desiring me to send him a character of my son. I am very desirous to take any just way for preserving my son's memory, and I think that is one very good; yet I cannot adventure to give my son's character. He merited a very good one; but my pen might wander in it. You and your uncle, Mr. Johnston knew him, I think, as well as I; and if you will take the pains to frame his character, you will do a very acceptable kindness to me. I send you here a short account of his service, which he sent in 1707 to be presented to the Queen; perhaps you may need to know it; you may call to Mr. Bell, and thank him, as soon as you can, for writing to me what he writes. He desires a quick return; I could not find it sooner.

P. Earl of Marchmont to George Baillie, Esq. of Jerviswood.

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle,
Monday, March 27th, 1710.

What I have heard from you since January began has much both informed and diverted me, and likewise led me out unto speculations sometimes plea-

sant, agreeable to my hoping temperament, and sometimes pretty uneasy to me, albeit I am like the bee, apt to suck the sweet from every flower, if it be to be found.

I am sorry at what has intervened there by Dr. Sacheverel's means, and here by that of Mr. Greenshields [1]. I wish they have not been designed to make disturbance, and to rankle that sore, which every good protestant should wish to be healed, or at least covered with a good plaster, and not laid open; and now I heartily wish the event of these prosecutions may tend to healing and peace, and not to rankling and disturbance. It seems to me very incongruous, that the protestants in Britain, who take the ties of allegiance to the sovereign, should be debarred from any civil or social benefit whereof they are capable, because of differing from one another in the modes and forms of worship, and that which is called the church government in distinction from the civil; but it is extremely strange, that two modes of church government being by law established in the kingdom of Britain, one in the south part, the other in the north, the fol-

[1] Mr. Greenshield set up a place of worship in Edinburgh, where he used the liturgy of the Church of England, which was not then the custom in the like places of worship. The magistrates of that city, enforcing a decree of the presbytery of Edinburgh, imprisoned him, and shut up his meeting-house. He then brought an action of wrongous imprisonment against them before the Lords of Session, who affirmed the sentence pronounced by the Magistrates. On this he appealed to the House of Lords; it was some time before his case was heard; but their judgment, when pronounced, reversed that of the Lords of Session, and gave heavy costs to Mr. Greenshield against the city of Edinburgh.

lowers of the one or the other, according to persuasion, should be intolerable upon the one side or upon the other, to enjoy all the benefits of civil society, they living as faithful lieges to a protestant sovereign; and, till there be a change in this behalf, there is not like to be an end of wrangling and contending, which may prove uneasy to the government. It is a great happiness to us, that the Queen is so equal and gentle in her methods, as that there is no encouragement given to such of any sort, as cannot live in quiet. . . . . .

. . . . . .

I long to hear, if a peace is like to prevent the action of the next campaign, and likewise how matters amongst ourselves, pretty dark at present, come to open and clear, whereof I will expect to be hearing from you.

The addresses lately made by the houses to the Queen, and her Majesty's gracious answers to them, are exceedingly pleasing to me; and I am hopeful the consequences will be good and pleasing to all good people. The doctor's speech puts as fair a face and gloss upon his business, as it is capable of, if it is not *protestatio contrario facto.* But I am indeed jealous, that there may have been a bad design in what appearance he has made there, and Mr. Greenshield here. But I am sure, these appearances have been very ill-timed, and, I am afraid, may have raised an humor, which will not be easily calmed again; a spark doth sometimes raise a flame,

which cannot soon be quenched. It will be very grievous, if the conclusion of a peace with foreign enemies happen to be the beginning of hot contests among ourselves. This I heartily deprecate. I am not a little apprehensive, that some here may be too keen against Mr. Greenshield, which I will endeavor, by the best methods I can think of, to prevent if possible. Dr. Sacheverel his off-come, of which yours of [the] 21st acquaints me, will, I believe, not go well off in this country among our churchmen, and may probably make them more keen in Mr. Greenshield's case, and in what may happen in the like sort. Suitable remedies may justly be the subject of much thought to the wisest and most moderate men; but there is a sort of people, I am afraid too numerous in Britain, such as King David speaks of in his times, *hostes quietis, blanda quos oratio ferociores efficit, quos innocentis mentio concordiæ ad bella sæva exasperat.* He is certainly a miserable man, who is one of that sort; and there can be no hope of prevailing upon such, for argument and reason will be but lost upon them.

It seems, it has become a custom to publish the names and characters of those officers, who have died during their service in the war; and it would look odd if my son were omitted. I acknowledge, your objection to that way for preserving their memory is reasonable enough; but it lies equally against all; and if no lie be said, those, who knew the person, will assert the cha-

racter; those, who did not, must be left to think as they will. The paper, I sent you before, gives you the account of the steps of my son's service, which may be made use of, as need may require. As to himself, I know, that he was a good man, having the fear of God in his heart; that he was a person of great probity and honesty; that he was a most dutiful child to his parents, and a good husband to his wife; that he was a faithful and steady friend, where he professed it; and that, as a soldier, he was both diligent and daring, composed and courageous, brave and benign; and that he had been well educated in the learning fittest for a gentleman. All this, or the like, can be truly asserted of him; and to put it in the form of a character is what I am not acquainted with.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Sir Gustavus Hume, Bart.

[Extract.]

July 8th, 1710.

Sir,

When I got your letter, the subject of it, and the tender and kind manner, wherein you write about it, did so much affect me, that I could not easily enter upon making a due return, so soon as

was fit to have been done. The sense of my loss lay heavy upon me, doth so still, and will do so till I die. I had long thought, that no grief could be equal to that of young parents for the death of their young children, whereof I had much experience in my younger years; but now I am taught to think otherwise; for, when kind and dutiful children add to the natural tie those of continual marks of affection in obsequiousness, and all manner of kind services to the parents, enough to engage the affection even to strangers, that doth greatly add to the natural obligation. Besides, this grief, however sharp, sticks not so long with younger people; time wears it off; but when it comes upon aged people, there is no getting it shaken off. Indeed my good son had so many excellent qualities in him, as gained him the good will and kind affection, not only of his nearest and all others, his relations, but even of strangers, who came to be of his acquaintance, whereof there are many witnesses; so that it may be guessed, that I, a father of seventy years, must be much weighted by being deprived of such a son in the forty-fifth year of his age. The death of my kind and upon all accounts beloved daughter Bettie, your sister, is a weight upon me still; that of one of the best among women, my dear wife, followed soon after; and now this of my son puts a load upon me not easy to be expressed, and very hard to be borne. Yet, I thank God, I am supported by a Christian and hearty submission to the

will of the Lord, to which, I hope, I am perfectly and totally resigned.

I am heartily sorry, that your daughter is taken from you, and do much sympathise with you and your good lady, whose worthy carriage and reputation have gained to her great respect and kindness from all of my family, and your other friends in this country. You are both young, and the Lord will make up again what loss he has put you to, if you continue to live in his fear and service, as I gladly hear you do, which is your wisdom, and will be your happiness. I am certain, that you and your family will ever have a great share and intimate place in my heart, so long as I live, and in the hearts of my children, when I am gone.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Portmore, at Waybridge in Surrey.

Edinburgh[1], Tuesday, August 1st, 1710.

My Lord,

My heavy affliction by my son's death brought me under such indisposition of health, as laid me aside from almost all business. This freed your

[1] Lord Marchmont in letters of the same date informs the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Godolphin, the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Cowper, Lord Halifax, and Lord Somers, of the intention announced in this letter, and solicits their aid and advice for the furtherance of his purpose.

Lordship from the trouble of letters from me. Of late things have happened so there[1], as could not but stir me up from my drowsiness, and put some quicker spirits in me. All here satisfied of, and friends to the present good establishment, as it now stands, and likewise others, who are thought not so, are at much work and pains in doing what they can to get elections[2] to a new parliament of persons of their own sort. At the last occasion your Lordship looked upon me as a person well principled, and likewise capable to serve that interest,—to wit, the Revolution, and establishment upon it. Albeit the success did not then answer expectation, it did not a bit discourage me, and, I hope, did not any, who stand upon the same bottom. Now if your Lordship have the same confidence of my fidelity and steadiness to our principles, and if you still think me able to do any service there, then it is like your Lordship will shew it in the election of the peers here, if there is occasion for it. If I am capable, and judged to be so, I will be very glad of an opportunity to give proof of my unalterable resolutions to support and serve her Majesty, and the present establishment, and likewise to give some evidence to your Lordship and others, who have had confidence in me as in an honest man of good prin-

[1] In England.

[2] Mr. Harley found it expedient to dissolve the parliament, in order to give strength and stability to his administration. The fanatical spirit engendered by Dr. Sacheverel's affair gave the Tories a triumphant majority in the new House of Commons.

ciples, that you have been in no mistake. It is not doubted here, but this parliament will quickly be dissolved; and if so, I believe every one will think, that since the Revolution entered, there was never greater need of choosing persons to serve in parliament of sound principles, of hearts to own them, and of abilities to plead for them. I am very hopeful that many are convinced of this, and will act accordingly, laying aside lesser considerations and views, which otherwise perhaps might influence them; for truly, unless the consideration of kindred, private friendship, and alliance, the regard to places and persons, or other private benefits, are not at this time obliged to yield to the more valuable and profitable account of supporting our government, and defending it against all enemies whatsoever, by doing whereof all lesser and private concerns may likewise be more safe and certain, all attempts for the public good may come to be frustrated. If your Lordship honor me with a line intimating that you have got this, it is all I desire, leaving your Lordship to do in reference to myself, as you think fit. I must only beg the favor, if I may not call it justice, that you will still reckon of me as of a sincere and faithful friend, who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's ever obliged,

And most obedient humble servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Queen.

Red Braes Castle,
Saturday, September 9th, 1710.

Madam,

I am very unwilling to trouble your Majesty, whose favor towards me has been so engaging; nor would I do it so soon after what has been lately presented to your Majesty for me, if it were not to prevent what would be a great reflection upon my reputation and honor, as if I had not served faithfully, or a token that I am quite in disgrace with your Majesty, which would be as a death to me. I have served your Majesty, and King William and Queen Mary, in the office of sheriff of Berwickshire ever since the Revolution faithfully and diligently. Now, being informed that your Majesty will be dealt with to give that office to the Earl of Home, who has as yet given no proof of his affection to your government, or done any service therein, I could not forbear to represent to your Majesty, and lay the matter at your feet, hoping that your Majesty will consider of it as in your wisdom and goodness seemeth good. Praying God to continue unto your people the blessing of your long life and government, I remain unchangeably,

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient,
And most faithful subject and servant.

P: Earl of Marchmont to the Queen.

Red Braes Castle,
Sept. 27th, 1710.

Madam,

Being necessitated to trouble your Majesty in this sort, I do entreat and hope, that your Majesty will pardon me for so doing. I am confident, your Majesty has not been fully and justly informed by the promoters of that gift in favor of the Earl of Home, which is so mortifying to me. I know, it is not your Majesty's intention nor meaning to break in upon the legal rights and properties of the meanest of your subjects by gifts of that sort. And seeing I have an hereditary right to that office of sheriff in this shire, which by the law of your country here makes a good title, I was obliged for maintaining of my right to endeavor to stop the sealing of that grant, till your Majesty should be fully informed, and your pleasure be farther known. This is what is ordinarily done, and necessary, as rights may come to be debated before the Lords of Session. Now, lest what I have done that way happen to be misrepresented to your Majesty, I am obliged to make this representation. Yet, seeing your Majesty has appeared in the matter, I will forbear farther acting as sheriff, or giving any hindrance to my Lord Home in his exercise of that office upon the gift without your Majesty's allowance, till the matter be determined in the course of common law,

well knowing that your Majesty will protect all your subjects in what rights your laws adjudge to them. As it is the happiness of your Majesty's people, that they may confidently make this reckoning, so it shall ever be my study and endeavor to the utmost of my power to have your Majesty's happy government as easy to yourself, as it is benign and comfortable to your people. Praying the Lord to bless, preserve and guide your Majesty, I am, may it please your Majesty, your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most faithful subject and servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Devonshire.

Red Braes Castle,
Wednesday, Sept. 27th, 1710.

My Lord,

It exceedingly vexes me, that I must so much trouble your Grace, who is so frank in appearing for me. But necessity has no law. I have again written to the Queen, which, with a copy of it, is inclosed. Your Grace will see how much I needed to do so. And if your Grace is pleased to give the letter to her Majesty, I hope, I shall not need to give more trouble in this matter. I am confident, if the former letter had come in time, your Grace would have prevailed in what on my behalf you desired of the Queen. But I would not send it

sooner, for it was given out here, that my Lord Home would qualify himself in law, and enter to the office upon an hereditary right, which he pretends to have. And indeed if he had any such valid right, he might legally have done it. Whereas the seeking a gift of the office from her Majesty during pleasure is a token, that my Lord has not any other right, that will bear. And the reserve in the gift, that it is without prejudice to my Lord's hereditary right, seems to me to have been put in it, only to make the gift pass the more easily with the Queen. The attempt I made to hinder the appending of the seal will perhaps be represented to her Majesty as a going cross to her prerogative. But it is the ordinary course and practice for maintaining rights of property, such as I have to that office, especially where gifts go to the seals *per saltum*, as we call it, without being revised in the court of Exchequer, where the judges have time and liberty to object. And if reasonable grounds be represented, the Exchequer uses to stop, till the matter be represented to the Sovereign. In the mean time, seeing her Majesty has been induced to appear in the matter, I desist from officiating or giving any hindrance to my Lord Home without her Majesty's allowance, till the matter be determined in the course of common law; and if my right is found good in law, I doubt not of her Majesty's protection in it. I had the honor of your Grace's letter of the 19th. I am to seek, how to express the thanks I owe. But

I am sure your Grace is taking pains for one, that will heartily take any pains and trouble at any rate to serve you and your family, being by all the ties of gratitude and the deepest sincerity and regard,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble and

Most obedient Servant.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Duke of Devonshire.

Edinburgh, Dec. 12th, 1710.

I had the honor of your Grace's letter of the 19th September, and I wrote to your Grace of the 27th, with one inclosed to the Queen. I know not if your Grace would think it proper to get it delivered.

I would have written to your Grace upon the election[1] of the peers in this country, if the Duke of Roxburgh had not gone so soon up, who would give your Grace and other friends there a full account of what your friends here found themselves obliged to upon that occasion, which, I believe, being informed about, you will approve of.

Lest any should insinuate the contrary,—for there are some who take little care what they say,—I resolved

[1] At the general election in 1710, which followed the change of ministers, the Scots peers were chosen according to the wishes of the court.

to give your Grace this trouble, to assure you, that the several great changes [1], which have lately happened, do not discourage us, nor can divert us from attempting what we can to support the government as by law established, her Majesty's interest and honor, the union, the interest of the house of Hanover, and the whole consequences of the happy Revolution, and to tell your Grace for myself, that as I am an old man, I am the old man still. I have now no thoughts of rising; the time of that has passed with me, and

'Qui jacet humi, non habet unde cadat.'

If your Grace happens to have any commands for me, I beg you will use all freedom, as I will take the liberty to trouble you sometimes, that your Grace may know, that you and your family, and my other noble relations and friends are still much in my mind and heart; and that I esteem it one of the greatest happinesses of my life, not to be forgotten of them.

I am, &c.

[1] This refers to the subversion of Lord Godolphin's administration. The Earl of Sunderland had the seals taken from him on the 14th June, 1710; they were given to Lord Dartmouth. Lord Godolphin was dismissed on the 8th August, and Mr. Harley was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Somers was dismissed, and succeeded by Lord Rochester on the 21st September; and on the same day the Duke of Buckingham succeeded the Duke of Devonshire; Mr. St. John became Secretary of State in the place of Mr. Boyle on the 29th September. The Duke of Ormond became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the room of Earl Wharton on the 19th October; on which day also Sir Simon Harcourt was made Lord Keeper on Lord Cowper's resignation.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Sir Gustavus Hume.

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle, August 29th, 1711.

Your great grandfather and mine had seven sons, five of which were married, and left several children, of which there are no males existing, save those come of your father, of your uncle Mr. George, and of your grand-uncle Mr. Patrick, of your family; and none of mine, since Kimmergham died, save my own sons and grandsons. My grandfather had five sons, yet there is no male now, but what are of me; and so it is, that, of nine daughters and eight sons, which I had by my only wife, who was an excellent woman, and very fruitful, having lived with me forty-four years, I have now only left to me two sons, Alexander, now my eldest son, and Andrew, and three daughters; yet of those I have had many grandchildren, in all, twenty-seven, whereof six have died, and twenty-one I still enjoy, whereof eight are boys, three of my eldest son's, two of Andrew's, and three of my Lord Torphichen's, the eldest of the eight being eight years of age. I have only one grand-daughter married, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood's eldest daughter[1], who yet is but

[1] The accomplished Lady Murray, who had no children.

young; and if it please God, that I live a little longer, I may have the satisfaction to see a child of her.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Robert Pringle, Esq.

[Extract.]

Red Braes Castle,
Friday, Aug. 31st, 1711.

The disaffected are very uppish here, and will deserve to be checked in their humor, to prevent greater miscarriages; and I am confident, that if something of that kind be not done upon this occasion, the fancy will spread, that the managers there at the fountain are not sound at bottom. How dangerous the consequence of this might be I leave to the judgment of every thinking person; and I am persuaded, the ministry will not think it safe to throw ashes upon those embers to keep them alive, which afterwards may kindle a flame. If they do, others who are capable, and may have opportunity to do it, are in my opinion obliged, for preventing greater mischief, to uncover, scatter and throw water upon them, till not so much as a smoke can rise from them. And whoever they are, that can heartily join in such a service, will give a good proof of their sincerity and zeal for the protestant interest, the happiness of the Queen's reign, and the farther

establishment and security of the protestant succession, the union, the mutual enjoyment of rights and privileges, and a charitable and Christian toleration of protestants, whether of the Church of England or Church of Scotland, or such as differ from both, though they agree in the fundamentals of our creed, whereby people might hope for a farther coalition, as persons come to be convinced. I shall add no more, but that I am, Sir, &c.

P. Earl of Marchmont to Lord Torphichen in the army in Flanders.

Calder[1], Tuesday, Sept. 25th, 1711.

Blessed be the Lord our God, that I have so good news to give you, which will be so acceptable in your absence from your family, and the more engage your heart to serve him, who preserves you, and is so bountiful to you. This day, between one and two in the afternoon, your wife was safely brought to bed of a son, a child as strong and

[1] Calder House in Mid Lothian, a seat of the Lords Torphichen. James, the seventh Lord Torphichen, married Lady Jane Hume, a daughter of Patrick Earl of Marchmont. He served in the cavalry in Queen Anne's wars, and commanded the 7th dragoons, the first Lord Polwarth's old regiment, at the battle of Dunblain in 1715. He held the post of a Lord of Police under George the First and George the Second.

goodly as ever I saw. He was this evening baptized, and called Alexander, as your wife desired. I presented him, and engaged for him what, with God's assistance, I will endeavor, while I live, to make good and perform. My daughter is in as good condition as can be desired. It is, if Saturday were come, a month since I came here, where I have staid almost as close as the midwife. My daughter had written so earnestly to me in the end of August, assuring me that her reckoning was over as Saturday the 1st of September, that I made all haste, leaving many things, which much required my longer stay at home. And I came to Calder that same Saturday. Jerviswood, and his wife, and two daughters, were in the coach with me; and my son Polwarth, and Mr. Murray came with us a horseback. . . . . .

. . . . . .

I cannot say, that I wearied; but if I had, when the brave boy was born, I was so much satisfied, that a day's waiting looked but as an hour to me. All your children are very well, and have been a very engaging company to me, since I came here.

The Earl of Home[1] *to P. Earl of Marchmont.*

My Lord,

I thought it my duty to acquaint you, that some gentlemen of this shire are to meet at Dunse on Tuesday first, at ten of the clock before noon, to consider of laying before his Majesty the many hardships and miseries this nation labors under by the union. Several shires have already addressed to this purpose; and as none can doubt your Lordship's hearty zeal for retrieving your country, by all lawful measures, from the miserable situation it is in, so it is hoped your Lordship will not decline meeting, to assist with your advice in a matter of such moment and concern to us all, and our posterity.

I am with all due respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble servant,

HOME.

Hirsell, May 7th, 1715.

[1] Alexander Earl of Home sat as one of the Scots Representative Peers in the parliament of 1710.

P. Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Home.

Red Braes Castle, May 8th, 1715.

My Lord,

I got this morning your Lordship's letter of the 7th, by a person, who had several others directed to gentlemen of this shire, acquainting me of a meeting to be at Dunse on Tuesday next, to consider of laying before the King the many hardships and miseries this nation labors under by the union.

The heritors at the head courts, and the justices of peace at their quarter sessions, meet by authority, and are legal meetings; but how any person can call together warrantably the heritors to a meeting, or how such a meeting can consult or act in what relates to the government of the kingdom, or the exercise of it, in this or any other shire, I cannot apprehend. Therefore I take the liberty earnestly to dissuade your Lordship from going to, or countenancing any such meeting; and I do it altogether in kindness and respect to your Lordship, and that I may not be put to the necessity of doing what is incumbent upon me in my office. I shall always be ready to assist in retrieving our country from misery, such as it was in danger of by the corruption or the treachery of those who were the late Queen's ministers the time of her demise. But since the happy accession of King George, the lawful pro-

testant successor to the throne, the former hazards being so wholly prevented, I cannot but reckon the country to be so far from a miserable situation, that it is in a happy settlement, and under a good and regular government. Wishing and hoping, that your Lordship will be wary and well advised, in what you resolve and attempt, I remain sincerely, my Lord,

Your Lordship's humble and
Obedient servant,
MARCHMONT[1].

[1] On the day after that of the date of this letter, Lord Marchmont, then restored to his office of high sheriff of Berwickshire, wrote to the sheriff clerk, directing him to be at Dunse on the day named by Lord Home as that of the meeting, in order to dissuade the gentlemen from assembling, if possible; but, if unsuccessful in that attempt, then formally to require them to separate, under the highest pains of the law in that behalf.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

PAPERS

OF

PATRICK EARL OF MARCHMONT.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

PAPERS OF PATRICK EARL OF MARCHMONT.

JAMES R.

We, by the tenor hereof, give and grant liberty and license to our trusty and well-beloved Patrick Home of Polwarth to depart out of our dominions into the parts of France, Germany, or the Low Countries, there to remain and do his lawful affairs by the space of five years next and immediately following the date of these presents, hereby strictly prohibiting and discharging all and every one of our officers, to whom it may belong, to call, pursue, trouble, or molest the said Patrick in his body or goods for his absence during all the time aforesaid, and of their offices in that point, provided always, that the said Patrick during all the time of his absence aforesaid shall plot, contrive, practise, or be participant of nothing prejudicial to our sacred person, the quiet estate of our realms, or of the religion presently in public professed therein; otherwise this our license to be in itself null, of no force

nor effect. Given at our Court at Royston, the 5th day of November, 1623[1].

L. S.

Instructions to the Duke of Hamilton, Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, 31st May, 1689.

1. You are to pass an act for turning the meeting of the estates into a parliament. And the three estates are to consist of the noblemen, barons, and burghers.

2. You are to pass an act for regulating the articles, to consist of twenty-four persons, besides the officers of state, whereof eight are to be chosen by the noblemen of their estate, eight by the barons, and eight by the boroughs of their estate; and in case of the decease of any of these persons, that estate, out of which the person deceased, shall supply the same. These are to prepare matters and acts for the parliament, but not to exclude the parliament to take any matters into their consideration, though it hath been thrown out or rejected in the articles; and all former acts, especially a. 1. Char. 2. s. 3. inconsistent with this, are to be rescinded.

[1] This permission to travel is docketed as follows:—'Pass by King James 'the Sixth to the Laird of Polwarth, to go to France 5th November, 1623.' This Laird was in great favor with King James, who settled a considerable pension upon him, and with Charles the First, who made him a baronet. He was father to Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont.

3. You are to pass an act recognizing ours and the Queen's royal authority and right of the crown, ordaining an oath of allegiance to be taken in place of all former oaths of allegiance and supremacy, declarations, and tests.

4. You are to pass an act establishing that church government, which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people, rescinding the act of parliament 1669, and all other acts inconsistent therewith.

5. You are to endeavor to pass an act for raising such a supply, as may be necessary for securing the kingdom from the present danger, and foreign invasion.

6. You are to pass an act, that forfeitures shall only be extended to such interest as the rebel had; and that innocent vassals, or lawful creditors for debts upon record shall not be prejudged, nor such heirs of entail, whose rights of succession are established by a public infeoffment.

7. You are to pass an act, either to take away assizes of error, or otherwise that they shall take place as well against a jury that condemns, as a jury that assoils any pannel.

8. You are to pass an act rescinding the eighteenth act of parliament 1681 asserting the prerogative in point of jurisdiction.

9. You are to pass an act regulating the abuses in the commissary courts, and all other inferior courts.

10. We are satisfied, that an act should be passed

for securing the lieges against inquiries by way of inquisition; but in respect of the present juncture of affairs, this matter would be well considered by the parliament; and therefore when the terms of this act shall be adjusted, you are to transmit the same to us, that we may give you particular instructions thereanent.

11. You are to endeavor to procure an act for an effectual course for redressing the depredations and robberies by the Highland clans; and when this matter is digested, you are to transmit the proposals to us, that you may get particular instructions thereanent.

12. You are to pass an act rescinding such acts, as were made in parliament 1685, as are justly grievous to the people.

13. You are to pass an act, that no persons be banished out of the kingdom, or from any part thereof, summarily without a process.

14. You are to pass an act, that the kings or queens of that realm shall not marry with papists, under this certification, that a popish queen consort, or the husband of a sovereign queen, shall be incapable to enjoy the benefit or advantage of any provisions or settlements, which the law provides, or particular contracts or agreements may have secured to them.

15. You are to pass an act, that the greater shires of that kingdom, such as Lanark, Ayr, Perth, Fife, Aberdeen, and Mid Lothian, or others, where it

shall be found convenient, may send three or four commissioners to parliament, that the representation may be more equal.

16. You are to pass an act ratifying the privileges of the boroughs, and securing their rights in electing their own magistrates for the future; and that the burghs of Glasgow and St. Andrew's shall have the electing of their own provosts, baillies, and town council, as the other royal burghs of the kingdom have.

17. You are to endeavor to procure an act or acts for the encouragement of trade; and if the 27th act of parliament 1683 be found inconvenient, it may be regulated or rescinded; and when the proposals are adjusted, you are to transmit them to us, that you may receive our instructions thereanent.

18. You are to pass an act for regulating the universities, so as good order and discipline may be preserved, and that pious and learned persons may be employed and provided.

19. You are to pass an act against a standing army in the time of peace, but so as the guards, garrisons, and necessary standing forces may be continued.

20. You are from time to time to adjourn the parliament, as you shall find necessary; and in respect the meeting may not be fully convened upon the 5th of June, which is appointed for their first diet, therefore, after passing the first act of turn-

ing them into a parliament, you are to adjourn them to the 17th day of the said month.

21. You are empowered to confer the honor of knighthood upon such persons as you shall find deserving of the same, not exceeding the number of six.

You have particular instructions anent what is represented to us as grievances. If there be any other things, that may be necessary for the good of the kingdom to be passed into laws, you are to acquaint us from time to time with such overtures, that you may be authorised with particular instructions thereanent.

An additional Instruction of the same date, 31st May, 1689.

You are to nominate our right trusty and well beloved cousin and counsellor, William Earl of Craufurd, to be president to the first session of parliament, in regard we have no chancellor for the time being.

Additional Instructions to the Duke of Hamilton, 4th July, 1689.

1. By the second article of your instructions, dated the 31st May last, you were empowered to pass an act for regulating the committee, called the articles, which were to consist of twenty-four persons, besides the officers of state; notwithstanding of which, these are to authorise you to pass an act for them to consist of thirty-three persons, besides

the officers of state, whereof is to be chosen out of every estate, according to your former instruction, who are to prepare matters, &c., as is therein expressed, not excluding the parliament to take matters into their consideration, though it hath been rejected in the committee, nor to prevent their moving any thing, and regulating of it to them; and the said is out of every estate to be chosen monthly, or oftener, if the parliament think it fit. And all former acts, especially the 1 act Car. 2. s. 3. inconsistent with this, are to be rescinded.

2. You are to pass what acts shall be proposed for settling the church government, according to your former instructions.

3. You are to pass an act rescinding all forfeitures passed against any of our subjects, either in parliament, or criminal court, since the first day of January 1665, which shall be thought fit by the parliament to be rescinded. Likewise, you are to consent to what[1] . . . . shall propose for restitution to be made of fines, or com[positions] for fines or forfeitures, from those who had the [be]nefit of them; and you are to rescind such acts as were made in the years 1681, and 1685, as are justly grievous.

Although the first of the above instructions is not complied with, yet you are to move the other two, and have them passed before any adjournment.

[1] Some words are here effaced.

Additional Instructions to the Duke of Hamilton.
17*th July*, 1689.

1. You are to touch the act already past abolishing episcopacy, as soon as you can, and to rescind all acts inconsistent therewith.

2. You are to rescind the act of parliament 1685 annexing forfeitures to the crown.

3. By the 3d article of your instructions, dated the 4th instant, we did empower you to reduce all forfeitures passed against any of our subjects since January 1665. Now we do authorise you to pass what acts shall be proposed for reducing forfeitures &c. since the year 1660, if the parliament desire it, and to consent to what shall be proposed for making restitution of fines, or composition for fines or forfeitures, as is expressed in the foremention article; and you are to touch what acts pass conform to this.

4. You are to recommend to the parliament to raise a supply of money for paying the army, and supporting the government, according to your first instructions.

5. You are to allow the parliament to choose committees for the three foregoing instructions, notwithstanding the committee of the articles be not appointed, as also, for what concerns church government.

MEMORIAL[1].

It is very certain, the King cannot have a parliament in Scotland more loyal or more addicted to his interest than this is, which I am able to make out by undeniable arguments. The members are now in so good a disposition to give proof of their sincere affection to their King, and of their moderation in the point of church government, that it is very necessary to call them together. Many important particulars require it, which otherwise cannot be accommodated so sufficiently as by acts of parliament; and it is requisite that the following acts be made.

I.—6. That in place of the five months' assessment now payable for some years yet to run, there be imposed at least eight months' assessment, payable yearly during the war, for paying of the forces.

II.—7. That a poll-money be imposed, at an easy rate, for buying arms, whereby to arm the country, so as every shire and borough may have the arms bought by their part of the poll-money divided among their fencible foot.

III.—7. That the new laws appointing a foot militia be taken off, and in place thereof the ancient weapon shewings of the fencible-men be revived,

[1] This memorial has evidence in it, that it was given in to King William by Lord Marchmont before Queen Mary's death, but in what year does not appear.

which will be acceptable to the commons; but the other was never so. Of this method, I shall lay a plain scheme before the King, when he pleases, and give satisfying reasons, when he will hear me.

IV.—7. That the laws establishing the militia of horsemen be ratified, and in some points amended, to make it more effectual.

That the laws ordaining persons in public trust to swear the oath of allegiance, and subscribe the assurance to the government, be farther explained, and extended to all public trusts, civil, ecclesiastical, and military.

That all persons in public trusts ecclesiastic, be appointed to subscribe the confession of faith in a fixed form of words; and likewise to subscribe an assurance to the government established by law in the church, in a fixed form of words. These two forms shall be concerted to his Majesty's satisfaction.

That the discipline in the church be carried on by church sessions, presbyteries, and synods, which last may be appealed to by the other, but no appeal to lie from the sentences of it to a general assembly of matters in discipline.

That general assemblies be called only by the King; and if any important reason occur in the church, which requires a general assembly, his Majesty will, upon application to him, form synods, one, or more, representing the business therein to be treated of, appoint an assembly, and send his commissioner.

That all ministers in the public prayers in congregations pray for their Majesties as King and Queen of Scotland, and name their Majesties in that prayer.

That all the members of the College of Justice be ordained to swear the allegiance, and give the assurance to the government. I desire to be heard upon the conveniency and advantages of this, which are many and considerable.

That the session be appointed to have three presidents to preside two months about, to be named by the King out of the ordinary Lords, to continue presidents during the King's pleasure only, though they are ordinary Lords during life. This act would be so acceptable to this parliament, and to the nation, as nothing of this nature can be more, for several reasons, which I can lay before his Majesty, when he pleases to hear me.

Besides the making these acts, the parliament's meeting so soon is necessary for concerting an effectual way of putting the kingdom in a posture of defence within itself, in case the King employ his standing troops abroad. Of this I have much to propose, too long to insert here.

Item. To lay down courses for securing the peace of the Highlands, and preventing depredations there. Proposals for that shall be offered, if the King will.

Item. To appoint a way for curbing the insolent

licence, which the disaffected take in reflecting on their Majesty and the government, and if they amount not to clear treason, to order equal punishments, which carry some terror in them.

If his Majesty desires these things to be done in a parliament, I humbly propose some previous measures, which if his Majesty allows of, the trials, I have made already, do enable me to assure him, that the mentioned acts will pass, and others upon the three last particulars, to his Majesty's satisfaction, before he can need to go abroad.

1. That his Majesty give a new commission of council with a small change, not of the peers, save one, but of the gentlemen.

2. Item. To make Cockburn of Ormiston Justice Clerk, whose influence upon the ministers is considerable.

3. Item. To make Sir William Hamilton, who has done very much of late among the borough commissioners, a Lord of Session in the place now vacant.

4. Item. To continue the pensions to the Lords of late gone out of office, at least till their carriage in parliament appear.

5. Item. To choose for commissioner a person of undoubted integrity, promptness of parts, and who has a credit with this parliament.

6. Item. To give new commissions of Thesaury and Exchequer, with some small alteration.

. The Lords of Session, who are parliament men, will probably carry themselves with a regard to a president's place.

There is much to be said upon these six particulars, when his Majesty gives me an opportunity[1].

P. Lord Polwarth[2] to the Earl of Portland.

[Extract.]

January 26th, 1692.

My Lord, I cannot as yet give your Lordship an account of this general assembly, of which I am a member. I will not mention my fears, while I have any hope; but I must say, it is a set of men much younger and hotter-spirited, than the last was. I

[1] The time, at which Patrick Earl of Marchmont was appointed Chancellor of Scotland, was selected as that, from which the correspondence held on his part hitherto given in this volume should begin, because it then assumes an historical shape; but there are a few scattered letters and papers of his of an earlier period, written when he was a member of the Scottish Privy Council, which it is desirable to communicate to the public. Besides information useful in history, they contain important views of that eminent statesman in the suggestion of the adoption of measures, either such as were fitted to the circumstances of the moment, or were calculated to improve the institutions of his country. They are therefore printed here.

[2] King William had recommended to the General Assembly of the Church to receive such of the Episcopal clergy as should be unexceptionable in doctrine and morals, and as should desire to be so admitted. But the Presbyterians, who were then in a state of great irritation, shewed no disposition whatever to defer to the King's wishes.

leave it to others to tell of my part in it; only I assure your Lordship, I never took more assiduous pains in any business ever I put hand to, nor did I ever meet with more straitening difficulties in reference to a prudent management. Many of the aged, grave, experienced men join with me hitherto; all that can be done shall be; and whatever it amount to, it will discover what measures are fit to be taken in reference to this church.

P. Lord Polwarth to the Earl of Portland.

Edinburgh, February 4th, 1692.

My Lord,

Now after three weeks that this assembly has continued meeting daily, either in committees, sub-committees, or full assembly, where I have always been one, they have not been able to come to an agreement for satisfying the King's desire, by receiving such conformists to prelacy as are orthodox, free of scandal, &c. I perceive, they will receive none upon the terms of the address and formula concerted there, and sent down hither. They, who addressed personally, about twenty in all, refused peremptorily to explain any expressions, whereof the others are doubting; and I am afraid, that the assembly, which by the committees is digesting

terms, whereupon to receive any, will make the entrance so narrow, that few will be able to push through it, whatever many of us can do to enlarge it; for we are by far inferior in number and voices most prized in the assembly. To be plain a I free in the matter,—if I keep within the bounds of what I can reasonably expect from this assembly, I must restrain my wish to this, that this meeting may leave things as it found them, and be brought to a close, before it makes them more difficult. If so, there are such methods yet advisable, which, I think, will please his Majesty and the moderate in this kingdom; but I need not advise your Lordship not to expose my freedom, for there are about the court who, if they knew what I had writ of this subject, would make use of it to weaken me here in my attempts of doing good, which I resolve to persist in.

P. Lord Polwarth to the Earl of Portland.

February 13th, 1692.

My Lord,

I shall only now give your Lordship a brief account of the passages of this day, and defer writing more fully in answer to your Lordship's letter till afterwards. The commissioner, immediately

after prayer in the assembly house, by a short pertinent speech dissolved this assembly. Thereafter the moderator desired to be heard a few words. The commissioner answered, that the assembly being now dissolved, he could not hear him as moderator, but as a private person. The other replied, that under whatever consideration he were, he desired to be heard. Then he asked, if his Grace would appoint a day for the meeting of the next assembly. The commissioner returned, that his Majesty would in due time appoint that, whereof a timeous advertisement would be given. Then he again had a short discourse to this purpose, that he as moderator in that assembly, in [the] name of those, that would adhere to him, acknowledged great obligations to the King, and, on any intimations of his pleasure in their private concerns, would lay their hand upon their mouth; but that in this they behoved to assert, that the office-bearers of the house of God have a spiritual and intrinsic power of holding assemblies for ordering the affairs thereof. Then he asked, if the assembly adhered; whereupon many called out, 'adhere!' Then he appointed the third Wednesday of August 1693, for the meeting of the next assembly;—all this after the assembly was dissolved. I shall write more fully next post.

P. Lord Polwarth to the Earl of Portland.

[Translation.]

February 16th, 1692.

My Lord,

I see by your letter of the 6th, that you had not received one, which I addressed to you on the 4th instant, in which I wrote to you freely on what regarded the late general assembly. I must add to it, that in good truth the greater part of the ministers and elders, who were members of it, opposed themselves too violently to those, who in past times had conformed to prelacy, and did not testify a sufficient inclination to receive them into their ministerial society without repentance, and a change of principles. Besides this, an opinion, that this court of judicature, the assembly, scarcely depended at all upon the King, had got too strong an hold on their minds. But I can assure you, that there was no unanimity amongst the presbyterians in that matter. There are many of them, who understand too well the interest of the common weal, to fancy that there can be two sovereign powers in one kingdom or state, and who attribute no other power to the general assembly, but such as depends absolutely on the laws of the nation, and upon the supreme legislative power, of which the King is the head.

But in that assembly the moderate party was the smallest. But after the other party had learnt its strength by being able to chose as moderator, or president, a Mr. Crichton, a minister, a man of a somewhat violent character, it was quite impossible to lead it by any force of reason. There were great cabals in the choice of the deputies to that assembly. In the western and southern counties scarcely any were chosen but the youngest and the most hot-headed; and to speak unreservedly, I confess, I suspect greatly, that some holding to the same opinions, being put out of temper by certain past events, have taken considerable pains to render us an evil service. Notwithstanding this, I hope, that his Majesty will not change his gracious resolutions respecting us, before he has put to the test the inclinations and the strength of the moderate party. In addition to what I wrote on the 6th, I now state, that there were in that assembly about one hundred and fifteen ministers, and sixty-two elders. But, according to such observations, as I could make, there were not more than fifty disposed to an union with those, who had conformed to prelacy. In truth the commissioner took ample pains to carry the intentions of the King into effect; and many others did their duty, and particularly Lord Ruthven, Mr. Brodie, Mr. Garthland, &c., elders; Dr. Rule, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Medrum, Mr. Forest, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Orrok, &c., for I cannot enumerate them all now. I wish with all my heart for an opportunity

to explain my views amply to his Majesty. But my affairs, which are extremely embarrassed, forbid the journey. Assuredly there are many, whose presbyterianism does not carry them beyond the standard of the King's, as far as I can judge of the King's and of their sentiments.

I will allow myself to trouble you with my letters, when anything arises worthy of occupying your time. At present I request you to pardon this importunity of mine; and I am[1], &c.

P. Lord Polwarth to King William.

February 20th, 1692.

Sir,

I would not have troubled your Majesty with this, but that I know, if the matter be fit to be taken notice of soon, your Majesty will give orders about it; and if not, that there is no harm to you nor to me by my bringing the business to remembrance this way; whereas another way might lay me under the ill-will of such, as profit by the delay.

Your Majesty, by commission under the great

[1] This letter in the original is in French, which it has been thought better to translate than to amend. Lord Marchmont was himself a zealous Presbyterian, as he abundantly proved; but in his religion, as in all other things, his zeal was tempered with all due discretion.

seal dated 27th December 1690, did appoint nineteen persons to examine the treasury accounts; but there was little progress made; we could never get the charge stated clearly against the accountants, or so much as get entered upon the discharge, because of that impediment; whereupon a letter was written and sent up, intimating how the matter stood; and since that time the business has lain over. For all what your Majesty furnished out of England, and for all what was imposed by your parliament here, which was then esteemed a sufficient fund for paying the army, yet there are great arrears owing, specially to those who were disbanded; this makes a great outcry; and indeed many of them are in so bad a condition, that they are turned the mockery of the Jacobites, and disaffected. It proves a retardment to all recruits, and would to new levies, if they were needed; therefore it seems to me very necessary, that the accounts of the treasury be examined, and the council ordered to do what may be requisite on their parts, for facilitating the work of the commissioners upon their application to them; and it would much comfort those, to whom arrears are owing, if the commissioners were appointed to state accounts with them, if there be as much in the hands of the country, or of the collectors and receivers, as will pay; it is a pity, your Majesty's service should be prejudiced, or your kingdom discredited, by its not being done. If there be not so much, yet your Majesty calling receivers

to an account will greatly animate your parliament to make up what is wanting for your Majesty's service, whenever it is called together.

It is little that I can do; but I am vexed and in pain, when I see any part of your Majesty's service stop, or go uneasily, especially when it may be easily helped; and I shall ever do my part, as it may please your Majesty.

Y. M. O. S. and M. H. S.

Project to be done in Parliament[1].

To the end, that general assemblies in their power and exercice may be kept within the due bounds and limits of law, and that the calling them may be so ordered, as that court become not a burden to the government, as sometimes it did, or uneasy to their Majesties,

To make an act explanatory of that act 1592, whereby presbytery is established; which act, having several dark and general terms in it, is liable to, and will well bear an explanation sufficient to the aforesaid end designed.

To the end that all the ministers, and elders may be persons well affected to their Majesties, and their government,

[1] The title of this paper is that of the original; it is docketed thus: 'Project 'to be offered to the King, January 1693.'

To make an act, that ministers, and elders swear the allegiance, and subscribe the assurance.

To the end, that the episcopal conformists now incumbents in churches may concur in all the courts of church government,

To make an act, that these ministers, and elders subscribe to the confession of faith, and their concurrence in the government established, and give their oath of fidelity in their office, in the terms herewith presented; and that whosoever complies in this shall come in, and have access to the exercice of their legal power in all the church courts; but who will not, to be deprived by the council.

To the end, that the government in the church, and the discipline do not stop for wanting general assemblies, and that there may be the less need of frequent assemblies,

To make an act, that there shall be no appeal from the sentences of synods to the general assembly.

To the end, that scandalous, and unworthy ministers continue not in office,

To make an act, that the several presbyteries, and synods shall in their bounds purge out the scandalous, ignorant, supinely negligent, and erroneous, if any such there be.

To the end, that the people may be the more convinced of the loyalty of their pastors,

To make an act, that the ministers, in their public prayers for the King and Queen, name King William and Queen Mary.

To the end, that the kingdom may be in a posture of defence in case of invasion, after examining and considering all the ways formerly in use, none of them will be found to answer the end so well, as some standing troops for a time; therefore if the King will bestow the supply to be granted that way, and a part of the excise, there may be ten regiments of foot, and three of dragoons, new levied and maintained within the kingdom, if his Majesty intend to employ abroad the forces now standing, the garrisons excepted. For this

To make an act adding months cess to the five now payable, to continue during the war.

To the end, that all may see, there is a care taken for the security of this government in some measure equal that of former times,

To make an act, that the advocates, writers to the signet, public notaries, writers, procutors[1], and agents shall swear the allegiance, and sign the assurance.

Item. An act for punishing such, as in discourse reflect upon their majesties and the government.

Item. An act for the peace of the Highlands, and preventing depredations there.

What has been proposed to his Majesty for making the parliament and people hearty and forward in these things needs not be here repeated.

[1] Procurators.

P. Lord Polwarth to King William.

March 3d, 1693.

Please your Majesty,

Being[1] informed, that there is great endeavor used by some to persuade some English statesmen, that what your Majesty has done of late in Scots affairs is by bad advice, and dissatisfying to your people there, and will tend to the prejudice of your service, and fearing that such reports may be brought to your Majesty, I presume to oppose myself to such information, and to assure your Majesty, that what is done is most acceptable, and encouraging to the well affected there, who are the far greater part of the nation. I know, your Majesty may meet with assertions from different persons quite contradictory; but I know also, that God in a special manner guides the hearts of kings, of those especially who depend upon his conduct, as I am confident your Majesty does; therefore I earnestly wish, that if any other, or I, represent anything falsely, God may guide your Majesty's

[1] The measures taken to appease the irritation prevailing amongst the Presbyterians, and to excite a spirit of loyalty in the people were so effectual, that in the session of the Scots Parliament, which was opened on the 18th April, the Duke of Hamilton being High Commissioner, an increase of troops, and an augmentation of pecuniary supplies for their maintenance were voted, and precautions were taken for giving security and strength to the government at home. Even an abatement took place in the religious party spirit of the Presbyterians, but of which the Episcopal Clergy had not the prudence, or the address to avail themselves.

heart not to believe it, and if truth be honestly represented, that it may get belief, and have weight with your Majesty In this confidence I can assert, that I never lied to your Majesty, and that I never shall, and that I am persuaded, if your Majesty follow out the methods begun, a very short time will convince your Majesty, and all men, of their usefulness for establishing your government, and for healing divisions of state and church, which God knows is my whole design.

[*An Account of Proceedings held in the Parliament of Scotland in* 1695 [1], *in consequence of the Massacre committed at Glenco in February* 1692.]

The body of the parliament having appeared in great concern for vindicating the King, and the government, from the scandal and clamorous reports occasioned by killing of the Glenco men, being bent to inquire into that matter, and a motion being made, that a committee should be appointed to inquire therein, and the Commissioner having told them, that the King had appointed certain persons for that purpose, it was earnestly pressed, that the commission might be laid before the house, with the names of the persons,

May 21.

May 23.

[1] The session was opened on the 9th May. The Marquis of Tweeddale was High Commissioner.

which could not be denied in the beginning without the hazard of raising very bad humor and jealousy, as did well appear by the vote of the house, *nemine contradicente*, for transmitting the humble thanks of the parliament to his Majesty upon that account.

It being afterwards urged, that the commission should proceed with diligence, and that the discovery be made known to the house before its adjournment, the commissioner upon the motives aforesaid assured them, that he doubted not of his Majesty giving satisfaction to his parliament on that point, and that before they parted.

June 3. Upon a petition and representation presented in parliament by Mr. Duncan Robertson, laying before the house the carriage of the Viscount Stair, president of the session, in the law-suit between Mr. Duncan and Mr. Patrick Smelt, wherein it did appear by the after-trial made by the committee, to which it was remitted, not only that Mr. Duncan had ground for what he represented in his particular, but that likewise the president's deportment in that affair carried a tendency prejudicial to the interests of the lieges in the administration of justice by the court of Session, the president's friends and favorers in the house opposed violently the having that matter brought to trial, as reflective on the president's station and quality, and did insist thereupon, both before the parliament and committee, pertinaciously, and with abundance of insolence, with some unaccountable

practices, specially in opening, and taking out of state papers, &c. &c. But the business was examined with so much deliberation, that much time was spent in hearing all, that could be pleaded, and considering all, that could be adduced for giving light in that matter upon both sides.

June 12. The commission for inquiring in the matter of Glenco having appointed some of the witnesses to make a plain narrative of what they knew in that business, met with an unexpected information relating to the Earl of Breadalbane's transaction with the Highlanders; and finding it of a very odd nature, did immediately lay it before the house, which being considered as of treasonable importance, and reflective upon the honor of the King and the government, the parliament appeared very zealous to have the Earl tried upon the subject of that information for vindication of his Majesty's honor, and appointed the Lord Advocate to indict the Earl of high treason; whereupon he was committed to the Castle, in which matter there was a great deal of struggling made by the Earl's friends, who had formerly opposed the inquiry about the president of the session, viz.:—Queensberry, Argyle, Linlithgow, Tarbat[1], Melville, Leven, Raith, Commissary Dalrymple, and others, who wasted a great deal of time,

[1] Lord Tarbat was Lord Register in 1692. He was made Secretary of State in 1702, and created Earl of Cromarty in 1703. He was afterwards Justice-General.

being fully heard in all they had to say; but when questions came to the vote, they had no support, being overcome in the reasonings. The Earl's plea for himself was at first, that he had warrant from the King for all that was laid to his charge; but afterwards he retracted, in as much as he denied, that ever there had been any such articles; whereby it evidently appeared, that he could have no warrant from the King for those things, which he denied to have been acted. In the end he pleaded a remission; whereupon the house delayed his commitment, till they found he could not produce it.

Upon repeated instances from the house to his
June 14. Majesty's commissioner, the report of the
June 18. commission for inquiring into the matter of
June 20. Glenco (after it had been transmitted to
June 24. his Majesty) was laid before the parliament, which, having taken into consideration his Majesty's instructions, did vote, *nemine contradicente*, that the instructions did contain a warrant for mercy to all without exception, who should offer to take the oath of allegiance, and come in upon mercy, (though the first day of January 1692 prefixed by the proclamation of indemnity was passed) and that therefore those instructions contained no warrant for the execution of the Glenco men made in February thereafter.

Then the execution and slaughter of the Glenco
June 26. men being found by a vote of the house to be a murder, and a motion being made

to inquire, who was the occasion of it, and the persons guilty and committers of it, and what way and manner they should be prosecuted, there was much contest about the method by the persons above mentioned, who urged, that an address should be made to the King upon what was already past; but it was carried to proceed further in the inquiry before addressing.

The Master of Stair[1] his letters being laid before the house, the same persons contended earnestly, that they might first proceed to consider the actors of the murder before the import of the letters; but the vote determined, that the letters should first be taken into consideration.

The question being stated, whether, or not the Master of Stair's letters do exceed the King's instructions towards the killing and the destruction of the Glenco men, the persons above mentioned contended earnestly, that the letters exceeded not the instructions; but after a long debate it was carried by the vote, that they did exceed.

It is to be observed, that the lawyer, (being one much accustomed in criminal process) who
June 27. was appointed to assist his Majesty's advocate against the Earl of Breadalbane, and who with the advocate had consulted[2] the indictment, was upon the Earl's petition ordained to defend him as his lawyer.

[1] Sir John Dalrymple, Secretary of State, eldest son of Viscount Stair, to whose title he succeeded. He was created Earl of Stair by Queen Anne.

[2] *Sic in origin.*

Commissary Dalrymple[1] having caused print an information for the Master of Stair, and having dispersed the same after the vote on the Master's letter, albeit the paper was found to be false and calumnious, yet the Commissary was only appointed to crave pardon.

June 28.

It was very observable, that the persons above mentioned, as they shewed great earnestness to have it found, that the Master of Stair's letters did not exceed the King's instructions, so when they had failed therein, they contended much to fix the occasion of the murder upon Sir Thomas Livingston, commander-in-chief, and upon Colonel Hill, governor of Fort William, and, they being both vindicated by the parliament, to rescue, and free Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton from the guilt of the occasion of the execution; but his withdrawing put a stop to the inquiry concerning him, though it was voted, that he was not clear of the murder of Glenco, and that there was ground to prosecute him.

July 2.

July 8.

After all the particulars contained in the address to his Majesty concerning the slaughter of the Glenco men had been fully debated, and much time spent thereupon, before the several votes which passed in that matter, yet the persons above-mentioned repeated the same debates, when the address was brought in; but in end it was approved by the vote of the house.

July 10.

[1] Third son of Viscount Stair, afterwards Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Lord President of the Session.

It is to be observed upon the Earl of Breadal-
July 1. bane's trial, that albeit in the beginning the members of the house above-mentioned seemed to press a speedy progress, yet when dilators[1] were proposed, whether the trial might be protracted, they were very earnest to have them sustained, and carried a long day for recovering documents; and when it was craved, that the diet
July 15. should be deserted[2], because the list of the witnesses had not been given to the Earl, they contended earnestly for it, albeit it was urged for the King's interest, that the trial should be expeded in this session, by which means the trial could not be brought to an issue, except the parliament had sitten longer.

It was likewise very observable, that most part
July 1. of the persons above-mentioned did remove
July 2. out of the house, when the sentence of forfeiture against the Earls of Melford and Middleton and Sir Adam Blair was a-passing; others of that side would not vote; and some voted against it.

When the act concerning the church was brought
July 12. in from the committee, the persons above-mentioned debated upon various grounds against it, and opposed it in the vote. Although matters were carried very strongly by vote, yet it may well be asserted, that there was no precipita-

[1] Dilatory defences.

[2] To desert the diet is to postpone the prosecution of a suit from some fixed day, possibly to abandon it.

tion, and that they, who opposed in the votes, were not cut short of time upon any argument, but had a full occasion for all their reasonings, and often got a vote for the terms of the question, if it was not yielded to them, which was frequently done; so that it cannot be said, that any question was put, till they were beat from their grounds and arguments to the conviction of the greater part.

The persons particularly aftermentioned did with much earnestness oppose, that the inquiry concerning the Glenco business should be laid before the house, albeit it was evident to all, how earnest the far greater part of the members were to have it. Yet when it was moved, that his Majesty's commissioner should have the thanks of the house for laying the discovery made before the parliament, and that the commission should have thanks for their careful procedure therein, it was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*[1].

July 10.

[1] This paper is in two different hand-writings, neither of which is Patrick Lord Marchmont's; and it appears probable, that it was not drawn up by him. The last paragraph speaks of persons 'particularly after-mentioned;' yet there is no such mention, although there is room for much more matter on the sheet on which this account of proceedings is written. It seems likely therefore, that this paper is an incomplete copy.

Proposal[1] *of the Number of Forces to be kept up at the time of Peace within the Kingdom, and for maintaining the disbanded Officers.*

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1. Imprimis. The troops of guards consisting of six score.

2. The regiment of foot guards consisting of sixteen companies, being two battalions.

3. A regiment at Fort William consisting of thirteen companies.

4. A regiment of dragoons consisting of eight troops.

5. The garrisons in Edinburgh Castle, Stirling, and Dumbarton Castles according to the present establishment.

6. That the field-officers of the disbanded regiments, who have not sufficient estates of their own, be put upon half-pay.

7. That the troops of guards, being in number six score, do consist of the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns of the disbanded regiments, at 4*li* 3*s* 10*d* per diem[2].

[1] This paper is thus headed; it is docketed as follows: 'Proposals for the 'standing army, and the disbanded officers, 1698.'

[2] *Sic in origin.*

Memoirs out of the Thesaury Register, from the 1st of March 1693, to the 19th of March 1700.

[Extract.]

Letter from the King to the Thesaury for paying to the Lord Chancellor[1] the yearly pension of 400*l.* sterling, which was allocat upon the Bishopricks of Aberdeen and Brechin, out of the first and readiest of the rents of the whole bishopricks preferable to all gratuitous pensions affecting these rents, dated 30th November, 1699; Secretary Seafield.

From the Duke of Hamilton[2] probably to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Godolphin.

Holyrood-House,
November 14th, 1706.

My Lord,

It is long, since I designed giving your Lordship the trouble of a few lines in relation to our

[1] This paper fixes the date of the grant of the pension of 400*l.* sterling to Patrick Earl of Marchmont by King William on the 30th November 1699.

[2] There are amongst the Marchmont papers, as is stated in the preface, certain original letters written from Scotland, whilst the Union was under discussion in its parliament, or immediately afterwards, of which the contents shew, that they were addressed to one of Queen Anne's ministers in England. There are, one from the Duke of Hamilton, one from the Duke of Argyle, one from the Earl of Marr, one from the Earl of Stair, one from the Earl of Seafield, one from the Earl of Cromarty, one from Lord Belhaven, and one from Sir

affairs; but I must acknowledge, I was damped in the attempt by finding every where your Lordship's zealous endeavors in promoting a measure, wherein, I must own, I am of a different sentiment; and since I perceived resolutions were taken, I did not think, my reasonings would be capable of altering them, though from my experience and knowledge of this country I had sufficient conviction, they would not be successful here; for I shall never believe, it is for her Majesty's service to make use of force in this matter; and now since the experiment is so far tried, that the whole church, and most of the trading people, and the generality of this kingdom, have expressed their sentiments against an incorporating union, sure her Majesty and her wise council will not, I hope, think fit to push it.

Out of duty to her Majesty, and being so particularly concerned to wish for the preservation of the peace of Britain[1], I will beg pardon

James Murray; there is moreover a paper, which appears to be an extract of a letter from the Duke of Queensberry, Queen Anne's Lord High Commissioner in that Session of the Scottish parliament. One alone of these letters, the Earl of Marr's, has an address; it is directed, 'my Lord Treasurer.' There are some evidences in others of these letters, that they were addressed to that minister; and they probably all passed from the hands of the same person into those of one of the Earls of Marchmont; but there is nothing to explain, how they so passed. 'Lord Marchmont' is written in a scrawl on the back of Lord Marr's letter. The Duke of Hamilton's and Lord Belhaven's letters will be particularly interesting to those, who have read the statements respecting, and the commentaries on his Grace's conduct during the debates on the union. They shew an anxiety on his part to arrest a civil convulsion, and feelings, of which Lockhart does not appear to have been wholly aware.

[1] The Duke of Hamilton had considerable estates in England.

to acquaint your Lordship, that I have waited upon her Majesty's commissioner[1], and represented things to him, and to my Lord Chancellor[2], of how dangerous a nature it is to rely upon a scrimp majority, if it should pass so (which is still a very great question), whatever assertions your Lordship may hear from those, who have been the undertakers in this measure. The mistakes, which have been between the Duke of Queensberry and me, may perhaps make what I have represented of less weight with him; or perhaps his being so far engaged may make him tenacious. But my fidelity is such to her Majesty, that I should reproach myself for ever, if I had not repeated this to her Commissioner, her Chancellor, and your Lordship, which, I hope, you will take in good part, as it is meant by me. I make no doubt, I have many enemies to misrepresent all my actions; but sure no man in their senses can think, I can profit in any disorder, that should happen; and it is for that reason, though I have not the honor to be of her Majesty's council, that I would with all humility entreat, that the present disposition of this country may be taken into consideration with relation to the great affair now in hand.

A good union should be with the hearts of the people; but as this has been managed, I may take the liberty to say, our people have taken great umbrage at it, [for] which nothing but time or altering

[1] The Duke of Queensberry. [2] The Earl of Seafield.

the nature of the thing seems a remedy; but for that I shall leave it to your Lordship, and her Majesty's other ministers, to provide a suitable relief to the present convulsion, we are in. I hope, her Majesty's commissioner, if he do me justice, cannot but own, when her Majesty's government and service were concerned in the subsidy, that I gave it all the assistance and dispatch was in my power, though I differ in opinion as to other matters; and whatever some people may represent me, I may boldly say, I have hitherto prevented things coming to an extremity. But I must acknowledge, the ferment increases; and I pray God, speedy measures may be taken to allay the minds of the people, who are under the greatest apprehensions, from what is now before us. I need not enter into reasonings upon this head, since I am sure, her Majesty's ministers cannot but acknowledge, the fact is true; and what the consequence may be, none but God can tell. Your Lordship may easily perceive, whoever they be, who undertook to bring the Presbyterians into this measure, have totally failed, for in this commission of the church, though there were above thirty lay elders of the greatest consideration amongst them, yet there were but her Majesty's two chaplains and one other minister of the whole commission of a different sentiment, which shews the greatest unanimity, that has been known in such an assembly; and you may depend upon it, this will have the utmost influence upon the people, who are

the most affectionate to the present establishment. And this concurring with the sentiments of all sorts of people over the whole nation is well worthy of her Majesty's, and your Lordship's consideration. You may easily believe, the disappointment of some may lead them to press the putting things to the touch, that under shelter of authority they may bring things to extremity; but how reasonable that may be, I submit to your Lordship, and hope, that your Lordship will put the best construction upon what I have taken the liberty to represent, since I desire nothing more than the happiness of her Majesty's reign and a good settlement between the two kingdoms, which shall be zealously promoted by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,

And obedient Servant,

HAMILTON[1].

[1] There were contradictions in the conduct of the Duke of Hamilton as leader of the opposition to the union in the Scottish parliament, which hitherto have not been explained. He appears to have acted under a strong conflict of opposite views, interests, and feelings, in his mind. But those, who read this letter and Lord Belhaven's, will hardly suspect him of having caballed secretly with the Duke of Queensberry. He was killed in a duel with Lord Mohun in 1712, when about to proceed to Paris as Ambassador.

Sir James Murray[1] *of Philiphaugh probably to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Godolphin.*

Edinburgh, Nov. 16th, 1706.

My Lord,

I presume to trouble your Lordship with these, to acquaint you, that last night the second article of union was approven in parliament by a majority of fifty-nine. I have sent to Sir David Nairn[2] a list of the voters *pro* and *con*, as the clerk marked them. The list has not yet been read in parliament, so perhaps there may be some mistake; but I have reason to think, it will be found pretty just. This vote was obtained with great struggle after much debate and wrangling, and even scandalous disorder in the House.

In the morning, when the second article was read pursuant to the former day's vote, the Marquis of Annandale[3] made a speech against an incorporating union, but withal made professions of great zeal for the protestant successor, and so concluded by renewing the motion he had formerly made, to settle the succession by a separate act upon limitations, &c. The Duke of Hamilton and some others seconded this motion; but finding, that it did not generally take with their old friends, the Duke of Hamilton

[1] Lord Register. He was in the Duke of Queensberry's intimate confidence.

[2] Secretary Depute.

[3] Secretary of State in 1705; succeeded by the Earl of Marr in 1705.

fell upon a new tone and method, which was: his Grace discoursed for some time upon the aversion [which] appeared in the nation to an incorporating union, and what dangerous consequences of blood and confusion might ensue upon the pressing of it. Therefore he addressed himself directly to my Lord Commissioner, and humbly begged, the parliament might have a recess for some time, that they might lay the state and inclinations of the nation as to the union before her Majesty, and withal signify their willingness to declare presently the protestant successor upon limitations. This motion took better. The Duke of Athol, Marquis of Annandale, and Lord Belhaven stood up for it. The Queen's ministers and others opposed this motion vigorously, and shewed frankly, how little regard was to be had to the addresses, that were impetrate by art, and misrepresentations from an unthinking populace; that the sentiments of the nation could only be well known in parliament; and that the stopping to approve the second article, and going into such an address, was plainly to blow up the treaty of union. After long debate upon this, my Lord Belhaven proposed a state of a vote, 'approve,' or 'address.' His friends seemed to acquiesce; and some of the Queen's servants inclined to let it pass for dispatch's sake; but others insisted to have the vote expressly, 'approve the second article in the 'terms of the preliminary motion,' 'yea' or 'no.' This they did of design to bring the members to

speak their sentiments plainly on that question, so as has been too usual here. There was a vote upon the state of the question; and it carried, the state of the question should be, 'approve the second 'article in the terms of the preliminary motion, "yea" or "no."' Then my Lord Chancellor ordered the clerks to call the rolls upon that question. The Duke of Hamilton, and Salton interrupted, and pretended, they should be heard further against the article before the vote. This was complained of as an unprecedented novelty, and a breach of all order, to interrupt the calling of the rolls upon a question, that was fixed, and agreed to by a vote of the House; and upon this the House was in great disorder for a long time. Many members from all corners cried, 'call the rolls, call the rolls!' The Duke of Hamilton, and two or three others cried, 'No! no! till the members be heard speak.' In short I never heard more confused noise at any mob or tumult; but the Duke of Hamilton's voice really failed to serve him so long, and so loudly, as it used to do. At length my Lord Balmerino[1] censured that procedure as irregular, but moved, that out of favor the English acts related to in the second article might be read; for this was the pretence they made to be further heard; and then the question should be put; but this did not yet satisfy the Duke of Hamilton and others. They said, it was useless to read the acts, if they were

[1] Father to the Lord Balmerino beheaded in 1746.

not to be spoke to. So the former disorderly noise was renewed. At last the Viscount of Kilsyth moved, the English acts should be read, and immediately thereafter a question should be put, 'proceed to vote the second article, or delay it.' The Duke of Hamilton, seeing his own friends disapprove of his way, complied with this last motion, in hopes that it being late, the members might incline to part speedily; and it was certainly the most favorable vote he could find; yet it carried 'proceed,' by a majority of thirty-nine.

I cannot omit to remark to your Lordship, that the Marquis of Annandale, who has joined with the opposers in all their methods for obstructing, or rejecting the union, yet he thought fit last night to vote, 'Approve the second article,' which was a surprise to the whole House. I beg pardon for this tedious scribble, and am with all respect,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient, most faithful humble servant,

JA. MURRAY.

My Lord Commissioner bids me make his apology for his not writing to the Queen and your Lordship. He has been ill for two or three days; and this day by advice of physicians has taken some things, which makes it unfit for him to write; and his Grace begs your Lordship to make his excuse to the Queen.

The Earl of Cromarty[1] *probably to Lord Godolphin.*

My Lord,

I may presume, that you have full information of what passes here in relation to that important matter of Britain's union. The three first articles are voted under the condition of a resolve given in by the clerk register, whereof a double was sent up. Those, who are declared opposites to an entire union, make constant obstructions, which occasion great delays. Meanwhile their (as I think) silly arguments take root in several grounds, according to the soil of the various factions and sects, and with too great fruit, for the mobs in and about town are too strong for our guards in case of sudden attack; and it is said, and much more than probable, that the great ferment raised by some clergy, and some others, are now settling in several bodies, arming and rendezvousing, and breathing loud threats, and vowed resolves against all, who carry on the union; and yesternight the Queen's commissioner was attacked in his coach midst the guards. But if it were not spread (I mean the combination) over a great part of the nation, it were the less dangerous. My Lord, my affection as well

[1] Secretary of State in 1702. He was made Viscount Tarbat by James the Second, and Earl of Cromarty by Queen Anne.

as duty obliges me to inform [you], that in my weak judgment there are particular articles, which will meet obstinate obstructions, and that though the union be carried at this time by a good plurality within doors, yet a great part of the nation will be in uproar, and those, who are for the union, in absolute hazard in their lives and goods. And allow me humbly to offer to consideration, whether an adjournment were not fit for some months, until some lesser matters or articles were better adjusted, and until in cold blood people, who are in passion, may see what is good, what is evil, or that time expire; for people are changeable from many causes. That an union, and a full fixed one, may be attained, and with a general assent, is my earnest wish; but I want not fears, which time and fit methods may remove.

This was an evil, which I did fear; and I thought there was too little pains taken to prevent the poisoning of the people by mistakes. This made me act a fool's part in scribbling before the parliament did meet; but there were almost ten to one, who preached against us. My Lord, this is with all submission to her Majesty, and her better counsels and informations. I am,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
And most humble Servant,

Nov. 18th, 1706. CROMERTIE.

I am afraid, a short adjournment will not be

effectual; and meanwhile the Queen's servants are in great danger, but chiefly the commissioner; and a very short time may prove this.

John Duke of Argyle[1] *probably to Lord Godolphin.*

My Lord,

We have now got over the first four articles, but indeed with the greatest struggle imaginable, which your Lordship will easily believe, when I acquaint you, that we were two days upon the fourth; and it was argued with all the fury in the world, that the trade of England would be disadvantageous to this kingdom. Your Lordship may judge by this matter of fact, in what manner gentlemen take leave to proceed in this parliament, and how hard it would be to persuade a great many of the members, that light and darkness are not the same. My Lord, I have taken all the pains, I could, to convince those gentlemen, upon whose account the memorial was sent, that there was no occasion for the alterations, they insisted on, as to the drawback upon oatmeal. I told them, it was not in any manner to be doubted, but that the parliament of

[1] He had been Lord High Commissioner to the parliament of Scotland in 1705.

Great Britain would establish it, since it was plainly for the advantage of this part of the island, and not to the prejudice of the other. As to the salt, I told them, they first asserted matters of fact, that were not true, and then argued from them, which was by no means fair; but if they would inquire into the matter, like people who were not positively resolved to be convinced by no reason whatsoever, I did not doubt, but they would alter their opinion. As to that of the excise, I represented the manner of its being managed in England, and endeavored to shew them, how unreasonable and how ridiculous it would appear in the world, that we should throw out the union rather than alter our manner of brewing, for that is truly the matter of fact; there is a certain kind of drink called two-penny ale, which these wise gentlemen are pleased to prefer to a communication of trade. This and much more to this purpose I have argued over and over again; but so positive are many, who pretend to be for a union, and so ridiculously jealous of a British parliament, that no arguments of this nature have much weight with them. The disturbances in the country are much as they were; and my opinion of them is the same I told your Lordship in my last letter. I do not doubt, but everybody here, who professes any duty to the Queen, and would avoid the ruin of their country, will venture their lives and fortunes to support her Majesty and her government; and no doubt her Majesty will assist

them. But I need not say anything of this matter; for to be sure the Queen's servants have already laid this affair before her Majesty with their advice in relation to it. I shall continue now and then to give your Lordship the trouble of a letter. I am

My Lord,
With the greatest respect,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
ARGYLE.

Edinburgh, Nov. 22d, 1706.

Lord Belhaven[1] *probably to Lord Godolphin.*

Edinburgh, November 30th, 1706.

My Lord,

I cannot sufficiently express the grief your Lordship's last letter gave me. I am heartily sorry, that my dear sovereign and mistress the Queen, and your Lordship, the man in the world for whom I have the greatest veneration, are resolved to push on the incorporating Union. I cannot hinder myself from

[1] His famous prophecy of the woes, of which the Union was to be the fruitful parent to Scotland, pronounced in her parliament on the 2d of the month from which he dates, was answered in the few following words by a more gifted seer, the Earl of Marchmont: 'Behold, he dreamed; but lo! when he awoke, he found it was a dream.' He dreamt indeed like Pharaoh; but he should have reversed the order of events.

continuing in the same opinion, which I have declared publicly to the world, viz., that the consequences thereof will tend to her Majesty, the monarchy, and my country, their prejudices; and though I include that of England also, *I am afraid I be not far mistaken.* These words of your Lordship, 'that I make haste to declare myself against 'her Majesty's measures,' cut me to the very soul. Your Lordship may remember, when I had the honor to speak with your Lordship last, that I was positively against an entire and complete union, and was for declaring the succession upon some reasonable limitations, no ways extravagant, as some people pointed at, with some small concessions from England as to our trade, the particulars of which I hinted at. Moreover I told your Lordship at the time, that things were not ripe at that time to finish anything, and that all, that could be done, was to grant the ordinary supply, and prepare things for the next session of parliament. Matters fell out accordingly; and I must say, this is the first time, that ever I could see a majority in a Scots parliament for settling the succession; so that there wants nothing save such an inclination from her Majesty, as we had formerly in the two preceding sessions of parliament. It was upon this head, that I did prevail with the Duke of Hamilton to make his proposition for going about it immediately, and that her Majesty's commissioner might give a small recess of time, till her gracious answer

came; but now I have lost all hopes. I thought once to have been able to have served her Majesty's true interest, by preventing this union, and to have turned the affair another way, more for the profit of all concerned. But now, my dear Lord, I have given over all hopes. Her Majesty shall never find me a rebel; and if your Lordship knew, how much pains I have taken to dissuade and discourage the people, from what their zeal and ferment prompted them to, you would be very far from judging me a promoter of any such designs. I know, I shall be loaded with calumnies and reproaches; but I hope, you will not condemn me unheard.

Your Lordship's letter to the Duke of Hamilton (which he was pleased to let me see) hath given him the last blow (if I may say so); he did regret his misfortune in the most melancholy expressions imaginable, not without tears, that he should never be able either to do, or say anything acceptable to her Majesty; and that now, when he had by his proposal disobliged a considerable part of his friends, to do her Majesty and his country service, yet nothing should please.

This morning his Grace was seized with a palsy, first in his nose, then in his right hand, and last in the roots of his tongue. I have just now left him; he speaks better, than he did; and it is gone from his nose and his hand. I told him, I did believe his anxiety did him hurt; he answered, he did

think so, and that he did not expect to live long, but that her Majesty would lose a faithful subject, though never thought so, and his country a true friend, though never in a condition to do them a service.

I am afraid, my Lord, I have detained you too long, and that my letters are not very acceptable. I beg pardon for all my faults. It is to your Lordship, and to no man else, that I write; and that is, because I think, such an accomplished man, as you are, should not want accounts from all sides. I pray God direct you.

My Lord, your Lordship's
Most devoted, and obedient servant,
BELHAVEN.

The following Paper appears to be an Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Queensberry to Lord Godolphin. It has neither address nor signature.

BY one of the 5th of November, inclosed to Mr. Secretary Harley, I gave your Lordship some brief account of my general view of things here, since which the daily or rather hourly difficulties, which have occurred, hath so employed my thoughts and time, as not to give me leave to acquaint your

Lordship with the farther state of things with any tolerable certainty, or foundation.

I first did what I could to prevent any breaking in upon the articles, and when that failed, to get those alterations as tolerable as possible, of which I beg leave to give your Lordship the following account.

For the explanation on the 5th article I am not in pain, as being satisfied, that of the small number of ships, which anywise belong to this country, there are but few, wherein foreigners are concerned; and it is a question, if one more will be added by the liberty to be concerned[1], until the act passes here. However, there was so great a clamor about this mighty nothing, that it was necessary to yield them some explanations. And it hath been, and still is my humble opinion, the amendment to the 7th article, if by it they mean an ease to this end of the island, might better have been spared, since most of their present sort of malt drink would then in the course of collection have passed as small beer, and so paid but fifteen pence; whereas now it is charged two shillings per barrel. However, this amendment relating only to the present state of the excise duties, I doubt not, but it may be brought to be more equal and easy by a new regulation in some short time after the Union.

The 6th and 8th articles now stand committed; and the report relating to the first of them, viz. of

[1] Probably 'conceded.'

equal customs and regulations on trade, was this day prepared by the committee, in order to be offered to the parliament, which report is fair, and plain without any difficulty, excepting what may be supposed in the allowance on oatmeal exported; but this having only relation to the allowances by the present acts of parliament in England on other species of grain exported, if found uneasy, may be altered by future parliaments, as occasion shall require.

Upon the 8th article the committee have yet prepared no report; but [I] find them inclinable not to make the article more perplexed, than it is already; so the greatest difficulty really lies in the matter of impositions on salt and malt.

As to the salt duty, it is my opinion, it lies very unequal, and uneasy, even as in the article; and, if care be not taken, may be made more so. However, I hope some expedient will be found, since it is like not to be very consistent to have such a salt duty in one part of the island, and not in the other, after the Union.

I was very sorry for the exemption, they pretend to, in the malt duty, for though, by the prospect of a speedy peace, there may be little or no occasion for it, yet should it be found necessary for a year or two longer, I doubt, this exemption will be found very inconsistent with an united state.

Besides, I am concerned (if care be not taken), lest this difference and diffidence about taxes

should in a British parliament give new life to a party, who have always been for distressing the government both in the matter, and manner of supplies.

Other exemptions still more inconsistent were endeavored, but happily prevented by such, who are the most knowing and stedfast in the principles of the union, particularly the party called the Squadron, who in this, and all other things, have carried themselves with the greatest frankness and prudence.

The African company have prepared a memorial to the parliament, which was carried at their general court but by one vote, and my Lord Cromarty, who was in the chair, against it. This representation might well have been spared; but however, we shall do well enough with that business, since some small explanations, not relating to the foundation or state of the union, will satisfy the reasonable part of them, of which I shall give your Lordship an account, as it occurs, so that our greatest difficulty is now what to do on the 8th article relating to the salt duty, in which, I hope, we shall be able to come to some tolerable resolution in two or three days.

The opposers of the union have so frighted the people about these taxes, in representing them in some cases three or four, and in others at least five or six times as heavy, as they really are, or possibly can be, that there is hardly any persuading of them

to understand, or hear the truth; and had it not been for this committee of parliament, who have taken such hearty and unwearied pains to inform themselves and others, it had been impossible to bring them to so good an issue as, I still hope, we shall.

The 6th and 8th articles must pass, before they can get through the 15th, by which we may be over those tedious matters of trade and taxes; after which, I hope, the rest of the treaty will go easy.

I am glad by this post to find the Commons[1] so unanimous and hearty in the affair of the union.

Edinburgh, Dec. 10th, 1706.

The Earl of Marr[2] *to the Lord Treasurer.*

My Lord,

The pleasure I have to tell your Lordship the good news of the treaty's being ratified here, is the occasion of my giving you the trouble of this. By

[1] The English parliament met on the 3d December 1706. The addresses of both houses in answer to the Queen's speech gave proof of the feeling in favor of the union, which is here only stated to have prevailed in the Commons.

[2] This was the same Earl, who took the lead in the rebellion of 1715, and commanded the Jacobite army at Sheriff-muir. When he wrote this letter, he was one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, having been appointed such in 1705.

this flying packet there are three copies of the treaty, as passed in the act ratifying, sent to Sir David Nairn to be presented to the Queen. I hope, any alterations, that have been made to it here, will not be an obstruction to its being ratified in the parliament of England. I wish with all my heart, that there be no necessity of its coming back to the parliament of Scotland, for in that, I think, there would be great danger. I hope, the Queen and your Lordship are satisfied with her servants' diligence and faithfulness in the management of this great affair, and of theirs too, who joined with them in the measure. I am extremely glad, that I could in anything contribute to her Majesty's service, and particularly in the union, which I think so much for her Majesty's interest, and the good of the whole island. I am far from valuing myself upon any little service, I have done; but I am sure, I have heartily done all, I was able.

I believe, of necessity it must be some time, before the Queen's servants, whom she will think fit to call up, can leave this, both because of what is yet to be finished in the parliament here in relation to the treaty, (which will take some time) and to see what fate it is like to have in the parliament of England; but I hope, that now there is little doubt of the union's succeeding, and being finished: and then there will certainly be alterations in places and employments here, and more probably in the post, that I am in, than any other. All I shall say for

myself is, that I shall most willingly be disposed of, as her Majesty thinks fit, and, as I always did, entirely depend on your Lordship, to whom I owe so many favors already. I wish I may be capable to serve the Queen; I am sure, nobody will do it with more zeal.

I will trouble your Lordship no more now; but I will long to have the happiness of waiting on you at London. I am with all imaginable respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Most faithful, and most

Humble servant,

MAR.

Edinburgh, January 17th, 1706-7.

The Earl of Seafield[1] *probably to Lord Godolphin.*

Edinburgh, January 28th, 1707.

My Lord,

It is a great affliction to me to understand by Sir David Nairn's letter, that your Lordship was so ill. I heartily wish to hear of your recovery, and that you may be long preserved for the good of these nations. It is indeed no small satisfaction to

[1] The Earl of Seafield was then Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

us, that, by all the letters I have seen, the friends of the union seem to be confident, that what we have done will not obstruct it; and I shall once more entreat, that so great a settlement may not be lost, or be again sent back to us for the approbation of the parliament here in any part; for divisions will unavoidably arise here in the making of our elections, and in constituting the public debts, and in many other things, which must necessarily be settled. But yet I hope, that we shall adjust everything, that is before us, so as to give no obstruction to the great affair now before you. We have made some progress in the act of constitution. We have divided forty-five commoners betwixt the shires and boroughs, whereof thirty are to represent the shires, and fifteen the boroughs. And we have so ordered it, that each shire has a representative, and for this end have conjoined the six smallest into three; and these are to chuse alternately. We also hope to get the boroughs so cantoned, as that their fifteen representatives shall come from all corners of this kingdom. The sixteen peers are to be elected, but yet I hope in such a manner, as may prevent the necessity of our meeting altogether; so that this affair also is like to terminate so well, that the enemies of the union will be quite disappointed; for they thought to have made extraordinary advantages by the great alteration, that is made in our constitution by the articles of the treaty. There was one thing, that was like to have given us a

great deal of trouble. The commissioners for shires and boroughs combined together to have it declared, that the eldest sons of peers should be incapable to elect, or be elected, for any shire or borough. The commissioner and all the nobility joined against this proposition; and we so managed it, that several of the commissioners for shires and boroughs joined with us; and we got that proposition rejected; and the election of shires and boroughs is left to proceed according to the present laws of the kingdom. And I hope, in a day or two we shall manage the matter so cautiously, as that there shall be no difference amongst us; and I can assure your Lordship, both the church and whole nation begin to be better satisfied; and, if the union succeeds in England, I am confident, it will have all the good effects over the whole island, that was proposed. I beg pardon for using another [hand], for I am troubled with a cold; and I am with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful, and

Humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

The Earl of Stair[1] *probably to Lord Godolphin.*

My Lord,

I use the permission, your Lordship gave me, to trouble you with a letter, to entreat your Lordship's good offices with the Queen, to receive my father's family into the peerage of Great Britain, when the union takes effect.

My father's services are known to your Lordship; and no man can be a better judge of the value of them; so I shall only take up as much of your time, as is necessary to put your Lordship in mind, that though my father's services were equal to those of most of her Majesty's servants in this country, he never had any employment in the Queen's reign.

Your Lordship is witness of the part, he acted in the treaty. All the Queen's servants here will allow, that his service was no less useful in the parliament. Nobody acted with more vigor and firmness, than he did, though he was a volunteer; nor was any man more exposed to the malice and resentment of the opposers. His great attachment

[1] John Earl of Stair, who was afterwards ambassador at Paris, and a field-marshal; succeeded to his father's title in January 1707. A passage in this letter indicates, that it was written immediately after the debates on the union, and therefore in the month of February, 1707. His father was one of the Commissioners for the Treaty of Union.

in the affair of the union in a manner cost him his life, having allowed him no time to take care of his health, though he perceived it ruined by his continual attendance and application.

If her Majesty should think fit to honor my Lord Stair's family by this mark of her favor, those, that envy it, cannot very well complain, my Lord Stair having distinguished himself so very particularly in the affairs of the union, and never having had in his lifetime any recompense from her Majesty. This mark of the Queen's acceptance of his service would be infinitely more honorable to his memory, and more agreeable to his friends, than any other, because at this time the reward would particularly denote his service.

I have wrote to the Duke of Marlborough, who has been often pleased to interest himself for me, more than I can pretend to deserve. What I desire is with entire deference to what your Lordship, and his Grace shall think fit to advise the Queen; and, with perfect submission to what her Majesty shall be pleased to determine, I am with all possible respect and duty,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
And most humble servant,
STAIR.

Edinburgh, February 22d.

THERE exists a curious document drawn up by Patrick Earl of Marchmont, which appears certainly to have been communicated by him to Lord Somers[1], immediately after the first election of peers and commoners sent by Scotland to the British parliament on the union being concluded. Those, who have read this correspondence, will not doubt, to whom it will have been transmitted. It is headed as follows: 'For your own use, your 'friend's opinion, according to the best of his un-'derstanding.'

It is a list of those peers and commoners, in which the former are designated by letters, and the latter by numbers, opposite to each of which is written Lord Marchmont's opinion of the political principles and leanings of the person. The names are given in a separate paper as a key to the cypher.

Were the only names in this list those of persons, who held offices under the state, there could have been no hesitation in publishing it; such men belong to history; and it is to its advantage, that the motives, which really and essentially influenced their actions, should be known. But as the great majority of those here enumerated became public men no farther than by entering one or the other house of parliament, it may be fairly questioned, whether they can be justly made objects of censure,

[1] See particularly Lord Marchmont's letter to Lord Somers of March 11th, 1707.

in the cases where it applies, at this distance of time especially. Their representatives, where such exist, can have no means of defending the memory of those, who many of them may not have been generally known in their day, but who now are wholly forgotten.

An abstract only of the list is therefore given: the information it affords rests on no mean authority; so that it is probable, that it will convey a sufficiently accurate knowledge of the feelings and motives, which influenced and regulated the public conduct of this authoritative delegation from, and representation of the Scottish parliament, the nomination of which was in truth its expiring act, through which it was to revive in the parliament of Great Britain. It does not appear, that the noblemen and the commoners carried by any means equal proportions of political uprightness to the new legislative body.

ABSTRACT.

PEERS.

For the Revolution by principle . . .	4
For the Revolution by interest, but subject to the influence of the court	7
For the Revolution by principle, but fortune low[1] .	1
For the Revolution, but subject to personal influence .	4
For the Revolution, but subject to court and personal influence	1
	17[2]

[1] The peerage in this case is extinct.

[2] The number of peers should be sixteen; but the Duke of Argyle is included in this number, although he was a peer of England before the union.

COMMONERS FOR COUNTIES AND BOROUGHS.

For the Revolution by principle	22
For the Revolution, but subject to the influence of the court	1
For the Revolution, but under personal influence	4
For the Revolution by interest, and under personal influence	1
For the Revolution by interest	1
Under personal influence	7
Will follow the court	2
Will follow the Duke of Queensberry	3
Against the union	1
Respecting whom the writer could form no opinion	3
	45

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

Lord Rivers[1] *probably to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Godolphin.*

I FIND by your Lordship, that you think we have intelligence here from Spain, which in reason ought to be concluded upon; but I can assure you, I have not heard one word, that can be depended upon, but what I have from England. Since I came to this place, the ship we sent, nor Colonel Worsly is returned; it is more than a month since he parted from us; nor a spy of the Spanish envoy's procuring, whom we expected some time from Andalusia, with an account how matters stand there. Shrimton is gone to Gibraltar, whom I have likewise ordered to get what intelligence he can, from whom I hope to have a speedy account.

As to what your Lordship mentions of my Lord Galway's[2] commanding the Queen's troops in Spain, I have nothing to say, but that I am resolved to

[1] This letter, and that addressed to Lord Godolphin by Lord Galway, are both original, and were probably added to the Marchmont papers together, and at the same time with those written from Scotland in 1706 and 1707, printed in this volume in the Supplement to the Papers of Patrick Earl of Marchmont.

[2] The troops carried out by Lord Rivers passed under Lord Galway's command, but with numbers greatly diminished by sickness.

serve under nobody but the Duke of Marlborough, I did suspect it would be so, before I left England, and intended to have said then, what I do now; but finding by my instructions a separate command, I would not make any objection; but now, my Lord, I take the liberty to tell you, what I design, which is, to go on upon my instructions, if the general officers of sea and land are of that opinion, and we hear nothing that is pressing from the King of Spain; in such case, that it is found necessary to join him, then I shall return for England, and send the troops under the command of General Earle, whenever the King shall order them, in which, I hope, her Majesty, the Duke of Marlborough, and your Lordship will be satisfied. I had writ to Mr. Stanhope to compromise this matter with Lord Galway; but since I find her Majesty's orders, that cannot be brought about. It is better for the service, I own, that one should have the sole command; neither in such a corps, as there are of the Queen's troops in Spain, when all is joined, is there occasion for more, which makes me acquiesce with great satisfaction; and I desire your Lordship to continue me your protection, and to assure her Majesty, no one will be readier to serve her than I will, whenever she does me the honor to employ me.

Since I wrote this, I received the honor of your Lordship's of the 29th of October; but having troubled you too fully before as to myself, shall

only add, that in case the troops under my command should join the King of Spain, I will go up with them, and leave them with Lord Galway, and stay some reasonable time, in hopes to receive your Lordship's commands, and then return for England.

Your Lordship desires my poor thoughts, as to what relates to the Queen's service in these parts. Here is a general complaint, which, I hope, you will order shall be remedied from all concerned in her Majesty's affairs, that when they lay before the secretary, or the paymaster anything, that relates to her service, they answer slowly, very often not at all, which is of very ill consequence;—a plain aye, or no, would be much better. It is come to that pass, that generally speaking, when they are applied to upon any concern, their answer is, they have writ to England, and can have none themselves. Here inclosed is an instance, which, I think, would have been very fatal, if we had not met, and ordered what you will find therein; for if a general declaration by the Queen's order is not in material matters made good, nothing will be depended upon. In this, I hope, you will give Mr. Bruge's decisions, for when I am gone, I fear, there will be a stop put to it, unless there come orders from England. The King of Portugal being dead, the admiral has sent a ship, by whom this comes to give her Majesty timely notice to make some amends for our misfortune of staying here so long. It is well we are now in this river, otherwise the

French emissaries, who are very strong, would shew themselves more, than they will now venture upon. Mr. Methuen will give you an account how this matter is likely to go. As soon as their formalities are over, we will despatch a frigate, or a packet-boat, as the occasion requires, by whom you shall be fully informed of everything.

The Barco Longo is to sail by agreement from Faro to Gibraltar once a fortnight; and the admiral will leave two frigates there to carry expresses on. There is one express actually gone, which will be continued. The Duke of Marlborough told me, one letter would serve you both; otherwise I had writ to him this post, to whom I beg my most humble service. I can safely say, no one wishes him more happiness, nor would be readier to serve him to my poor capacity, than myself.

I beg pardon for this long scrawl, and leave to subscribe myself, as I sincerely am,

My Lord, your Lordship's
Most obedient servant,
RIVERS.

Lisbon, November 29th, 1706.

The Earl of Galway[1] *to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin.*

Valencia, December 15-26th, 1706.

My Lord,

The arrival of five men-of-war from Lisbon with money, and most of what we had left in Portugal, is a very good relief to us for the present; and having thereby a safe opportunity of writing to your Lordship, I shall take the liberty to explain my thoughts, as freely as the necessity of affairs requires.

I have had the honor to write twice to your Lordship concerning Prince Eugene's coming to command in Spain, which I think not only necessary to prevent the confusion, that the jealousy of some generals will occasion here, but is the only means to establish the Spanish monarchy, and prevent its ruin; for his Catholic Majesty is in such very ill hands, who possess his ear, that though we should have all the success we can desire, the conduct of the court will be such, that the King will never remain six months quiet on his throne, after the foreign forces are embarked. The Spaniards will never bear to be governed by a set of foreigners of neither worth, nor rank, who think of nothing but

[1] Lord Galway at the date of this letter commanded the British troops in Spain.

plunder and rapine, and keep all persons from the King, that are not of their own stamp. They will infallibly call the French in again, and carry themselves to the utmost extremities. All the Spaniards, that are here, are under a general disgust, and see what they are to expect, when those people now about the King get the power of all into their own hands.

There is another point of no small consequence, that I must inform your Lordship fully of. Count Noyelle[1] expected upon his coming over to have had the chief command of all, but finding it impracticable, as matters stand, with the Portuguese, has persuaded the King, who has no kindness for that nation, to form an army apart from them in Arragon. Count Noyelle has already sent some of the Dutch troops that way, notwithstanding the Marquis[2] das Minas's representation, that they belong to the Portuguese army; and, if he is not prevented, he will draw the rest of the troops from that body. But what I dread most is, that he will be able to prevail with my Lord Rivers to join his troops with the army the King intends to command in person, who is already much soured against the Portuguese. If this should be done, I look upon us entirely destroyed. The enemy is as strong as

[1] A general officer in the Austrian army serving as a general in that of Spain under King Charles.

[2] The Marquis das Minas commanded the Portuguese auxiliary army in Spain.

both these armies together, and will not fail to beat us both, one after the other, especially as your Lordship may imagine, that there will be little harmony in our councils, and operations.

I hope, your Lordship will take this into your serious consideration, and that her Majesty's positive orders may prevent the dividing of her troops at this juncture; and in order to make my Lord Rivers the easier to serve with the Portuguese, I renew on this occasion my instances to her Majesty, that I may have leave to retire, that my Lord Rivers may take upon him the command of the whole.

I must again repeat to your Lordship, that nothing can [so] effectually save our affairs, and even the Spanish monarchy, as the Emperor's sending Prince Eugene hither, whose rank and character will not only prevent all the confusion, we are falling into, but he will be able to remove from the King those persons, who now possess him so much, and establish the Spanish affairs upon a right foot. I hope, this will come in time to your Lordship's hands, not only to prevent the dividing the English troops, but also the Dutch. The Portuguese are already much dissatisfied; and we may fear, that more ill-treatment will induce them to accept of such advantageous terms, as the French will not fail to propose them on such an occasion.

We have agreed with the Duke of Berwick to enter upon a treaty for the exchange of prisoners at Novelda; and if we can, we will bring it to a cartel.

We send on each side two general officers; and the Duke desired, there might be from each of us a *commissaire des guerres.* I send Mr. Leffever thither with such a commission, to assist at the treaty; he has a private credit at Madrid, from whence he can have our prisoners supplied with money in drawing bills on Mr. Sweet in Holland; so I desire your Lordship will order Mr. Sweet to accept, and pay such bills, or credit, as come from him, which may be charged by Mr. Brydges to Mr. Morice, for we have so many wants for our money, that we can spare our prisoners but very little, besides the risk of sending large sums by a trumpet.

I am with great respect, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble, and
Most obedient servant,
GALWAY.

Since I have signed this letter, I have discoursed the King very fully upon his design of dividing the troops, and going himself into Arragon, or Catalonia. I took the liberty to be very plain with his Majesty; and, I hope, I have put that design out of his head; but this will bring no alteration with the conduct of the court, which is as I have represented to your Lordship, which makes me always suspicious of alterations, so that I can depend on nothing.

The Earl of Dartmouth[1] *to the Lord Advocate.*

Windsor Castle, September 23d, 1712.

My Lord,

I have made a faithful representation to her Majesty of the printer's case in relation to the intended new edition of Buchanan's works, as it is stated in your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant; and since nothing can be more evident, than that those books contain very injurious reflections upon her Majesty's royal ancestors, I am commanded to signify her pleasure to you, that you use all lawful methods to prevent their being reprinted, or published.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's
Most humble servant,
DARTMOUTH.

[1] The Earl of Dartmouth was then Secretary of State. The opposition made by Queen Anne's government to the publication of a new edition of Buchanan's works did not delay it long. In the second year of the reign of her successor they were published in two folio volumes at Edinburgh by Robert Freebairn, who describes himself as printer to the King.

This is an original letter. It is docketed by Hugh Earl of Marchmont as follows:—'1770, from among Charles Trail's papers.'

Relation[1] *du Maître de Chasse Frédéric de Gramm, concernant ce qui est arrivé à lui et à ses compagnons dans leur voyage périlleux parmi les glaces, au mois de Janvier* 1684, *dans le Grand Belt, où ils furent sauvés miraculeusement.*

Quelques-uns de mes amis ayant souhaité, que je leur donnasse quelque idée de l'aventure extraordinaire, qui m'arriva en 1684, dans le Grand Belt, j'ai cru devoir repondre à leur désir, en rapportant ici cette aventure avec toutes ses circonstances, et telle que je l'ai encore présente à la mémoire.

Au commencement de la dite année 1684, le Premier Chasseur d'alors, Hans Jörgenzeitz, moi comme page

[1] This narrative of a perilous voyage and journey across the Great Belt performed in the month of January 1684 by Frederick de Gramm, the author, and eleven other persons, is amongst the Marchmont manuscripts. The severity of the cold of the most rigorous season of a northern winter endured by persons lightly clothed, and for so long a period without any sustenance, the striking circumstances which occurred, and the simple, but forcible delineation of them, are the cause of its appearing in this selection. If this narrative is a translation, as it probably is, it is one evidently not made by a Frenchman; and the faults in idiom and construction, with which it abounded, have required very frequent corrections; but if an attempt had been made to give to it the classical tone of the language, in which it appears, it must have been nearly rewritten.

There is also amongst the Marchmont papers a letter in French, dated 'Friderb. (possibly Fridericsborg, in the island of Seland, to the north of Copenhagen) the 28th October 1730.' From its purport it was evidently addressed to Alexander Earl of Marchmont by one, with whom he had lived in friendship during his mission in Denmark. Its object is to inform him, that the new King had made his correspondent his Grand Veneur, given him his blue ribbon, allowed him to retain his two Bailiwicks, promised to provide for his children, and had actually given an appointment at court to his eldest son. This letter is signed F. v. Gram, which in French would be F. de Gram; and his excellency, the Grand Veneur, who presided over all the field sports

de chasse, et d'autres gens de la chasse royale de Jägersbourg, nous reçûmes ordre du feu roi Chrétien Cinq de nous rendre dans le Jutland pour y chasser aux loups, afin d'y soulager les pauvres paysans, auxquels ces animaux causaient de grands dommages. En conséquence nous nous mîmes en chemin d'abord après la fête des Rois[1]; et bien qu'à notre arrivée à Corsoer nous eussions trouvé, que le Belt était rempli de glaces flottantes, notre désir de suivre les ordres du Roi avec toute la diligence possible fut si grand, que le 9 de Janvier, à l'aube du jour, nous mîmes en mer, en nous exposant ainsi aux dangers, que les glaces nous présentaient de toute part. Après avoir éprouvé des peines extraordinaires, et rencontré de grands périls parmi les masses de glace, qui nous environnaient, nous arrivâmes enfin vers le soir dans la petite île de Sproe, où nous trouvâmes un grand nombre de passagers, que

of the King of Denmark in 1730, was no doubt the Frédéric de Gram, who was in the service of the court of Copenhagen as a Page de Chasse in 1684, and who had risen to be a Maitre de Chasse, when he gave the history of his sufferings. Those who interest themselves in the fearful voyage performed in his youth, and here recorded, will not be sorry to learn, how prosperous towards its close was a journey of life which he had begun thus roughly. The narrative gives the name *Gramm*, but it is evidently not in the handwriting of the author of the letter. A symptom, that this narrative has been translated into French, and not by himself, is, that in it *de* is prefixed to his name, whereas in signing the letter, although it is in that language, he uses the German *v.* (for *von*) before it; moreover the French of the letter is much more defective than that of the narrative.

It is to be presumed, that Lord Marchmont received this narrative from the hand of the writer, and on that account kept the letter.

[1] Twelfth Day, the 6th of January.

la nécessité avait pareillement forcés d'y aborder, et d'y demeurer, à cause du danger des glaces, dont on voyait des monceaux entassés les uns sur les autres comme des maisons, ou des montagnes. Nous étions alors à l'île de Sproe environ cent personnes.

Cette île est située dans le Grand Belt, à deux lieues de Corsoer, et à pareille distance de Niebourg; mais elle n'est éloignée que d'une lieue de Knudshovet (promontoire de Fuhnen), et ne comprend qu'autant de terre, qu'il en faut pour nourrir un seul paysan, avec sa famille, et son bétail; aussi on peut juger, qu'un tel paysan n'était pas en état de nourrir tant de monde; nous ressentîmes d'abord une grande disette de pain et de bière; mais nous ne manquions pas de viande, car à cette occasion les vaches du paysan ne furent point épargnées. Ceux, qui avaient de l'argent, payaient une pièce de trente deux sous pour une pinte de lait; ou pour satisfaire en quelque manière à la soif, on faisait fondre auprès d'un petit feu un morceau de glace, qu'on tirait d'un puits, dont l'eau devait être douce, mais qui réellement était marécageuse.

Lorsque nous eûmes passé cinq jours de cette manière, du Mercredi au Dimanche, et que nous croyions avoir encore assez de force pour nous ouvrir un chemin à travers les glaces jusqu'à Knudshovet, éloigné de-là d'une lieue, nous résolumes, nous autres chasseurs, avec deux bourgeois, et nos bateliers, en total douze personnes, de tenter de bonne heure d'arriver à Fühnen, plutôt que de perdre

par un plus long séjour à l'île de Sproe le peu de forces, qui nous restaient, et d'y périr de faim et de soif. Nous nous embarquâmes donc le Lundi, 14 Janvier, à la pointe du jour dans notre chaloupe, sans prendre avec nous la moindre provision ; et nous travaillâmes de toutes nos forces pour fendre les glaces. Ceux, qui étaient demeurés à Sproe, regardaient notre manœuvre du rivage, pour juger par notre succès des mesures, qu'ils auraient à prendre ; mais ils furent bientôt persuadés par le commencement de notre entreprise, qu'il valait mieux pour eux de ne pas suivre notre exemple. et de demeurer où ils étaient. A peine étions nous éloignés de la terre d'une portée de pistolet, que nous vîmes aussi, qu'il nous serait impossible d'achever notre entreprise. Nous aurions bien souhaité d'être encore dans le misérable état, où nous nous trouvions à Sproe ; mais la violence du courant nous empêchait d'y retourner, et nous entraînait malgré tous nos efforts. Nous passâmes tout le jour et toute la nuit dans un travail continuel ; car lorsque nous rencontrions de l'eau, nous faisions route dans notre chaloupe ; et quand les glaces nous empêchaient d'avancer, nous traînions la chaloupe après nous par un long cable sur ces mêmes glaces ; nous continuâmes ainsi notre voyage, entourés de mille dangers et accablés d'un travail excessif, tantôt sur l'eau, tantôt par dessus les glaces.

Le Mardi, 15 Janvier, nous étions encore occupés à faire ce manège, lorsqu'un peu après midi nous nous

sentîmes tellement affaiblis et harassés par cet horrible travail, que nous n'avions plus la force d'avancer. J'avais les épaules si enflées de sang caillé pour avoir aidé à traîner la chaloupe, que je m'en suis ressenti bien long temps après. Par surcroît de malheur, notre chaloupe se trouva embarrassée parmi les glaces ; nous en sortîmes dans le dessein de la dégager, et de la traîner après nous comme précédemment ; mais alors les bateliers, qui s'étaient déjà un peu éloignés sur la glace, nous crièrent ;— ' Nous sommes tous tellement fatigués, que personne ' ne pourra plus tirer la chaloupe ; que chacun ' fasse de son mieux pour sauver sa vie ; il ne nous ' reste plus d'espérance.' A cette affreuse nouvelle chacun se mit à courir dans la plus grande consternation, aussi loin qu'il lui fut possible ; quelques-uns tomberènt dans l'eau ; mais ils en furent promptement retirés. Moi, qui n'avais pas cru le danger aussi imminent, j'étais resté le dernier auprès de la chaloupe sans fuir comme les autres, ne m'étant nullement attendu à la triste nouvelle donnée par les bateliers ; au milieu de ce désordre général la pièce de glace, qui me portait, se détacha de celle, où se trouvaient mes compagnons ; et comme je jugeais l'espace, qui les séparait, trop grand pour le franchir d'un seul saut, je pris sur-le-champ la résolution de sauter d'un pied sur un glaçon, qui flottait entre les deux autres, et de l'autre pied au même instant sur celui, où je voulais arriver ; mais cette tentative ne fut pas heureuse, car le glaçon

intermédiaire chavira au moment, que mon pied l'atteignit; je fus précipité dans la mer, et disparus entièrement sous ses eaux. Cependant Dieu voulut, que je ne fusse pas engagé sous les glaces, qui m'entouraient de toute part, et que je revinsse à la surface de l'eau; je me trouvai si près de la masse de glace, où étaient mes compagnons, que je pus m'y soutenir, et demander du secours. Le plus proche de moi était notre premier chasseur; il se contenta de me répondre; 'Que le bon Dieu ait pitié de 'votre ame; nous allons tous périr ici selon les 'apparences; je ne puis m'arrêter plus long temps.' Je lui répliquai; 'Vous serez gravement respon-'sable de votre refus de me secourir.' Ces paroles le déterminèrent; il revint sur ses pas, et me tira de l'eau; et certes il en était temps, car mes forces étaient totalement épuisées; je ne pouvais plus me soutenir; et l'eau m'avait tellement ébloui les yeux, il m'en était entré une si grande quantité dans le corps par la bouche et les narines, que j'éprouvais un étourdissement complet; la violence du courant était telle, qu'il me semblait, que deux hommes fussent suspendus à mes pieds. Enfin, supposé même que j'eusse pu me soutenir quelques instans de plus hors de l'eau, j'allais infailliblement périr; une masse de glace entraînée par le courant se dirigeait avec force sur le glaçon; où j'étais cramponné; elle allait m'atteindre, m'écraser, lorsque par la direction divine le premier chasseur vint me délivrer de ce péril extrême. Notre chaloupe, qui était

demeurée parmi les glaces, fut bientôt mise en pièces par le choc des glaçons avec de grands craquemens. Ce même jour je tombai dans l'eau pour la seconde fois, ainsi que quelques autres ; mais nous nous en tirâmes de notre mieux ; et vers le soir nous rejoignîmes le reste de nos compagnons, qui, en cherchant avec empressement à se sauver, avaient déjà fait bien du chemin. Nous nous voyions forcés de passer la nuit sur ces glaces, lorsqu'un des nôtres, nommé Joachim, valet des toiles, s'imaginant qu'il ne nous restait plus aucune espérance, prit la résolution de nous quitter, et de tenter seul de gagner la terre. Lorsqu'il eut pris congé de nous, nous le perdîmes bientôt de vue ; nous le comptions tous pour un homme perdu, car nous regardions son entreprise comme très téméraire et impraticable. Cependant comme nous jugions, qu'il serait dangereux de passer la nuit tous ensemble sur le même glaçon, nous prîmes le parti de nous séparer, et de chercher des glaces plus solides. Mais avant de passer au récit de ce que nous fîmes dans cette conjoncture, je dois faire mention d'une circonstance remarquable, qui survint avant notre séparation. Nous apperçûmes au clair de la lune sur le rivage de l'île de Fuhnen, qui était à environ une demi-lieue de nous, un grand feu que les paysans y avaient fait exprès pour nous, afin que nous pussions voir, de quel côté était la terre, et prendre nos mesures en conséquence. Nous pouvions voir fort distinctement les paysans, qui étaient auprès de ce feu, et

qui avaient soin de l'entretenir. Ensuite nous crûmes apercevoir quelque chose de luisant, comme si c'eût été une chaloupe avec trois hommes munis d'une lanterne, lesquels faisaient tous leurs efforts pour venir nous sauver. Nous crûmes même les voir s'approcher tellement de nous, que le premier chasseur leur cria, non pas de pleine voix, mais seulement d'une voix un peu élevée ; ' Bonnes ' gens ! tâchez d'arriver jusqu'à nous ; vous en serez ' bien récompensés.' Bientôt, selon notre estime, la chaloupe n'était plus qu' à cent pas de nous ; il nous semblait voir de plus en plus distinctement les gens, qu'elle contenait ; nous ne pouvions comprendre, comment ils avaient pu passer par les glaces, se rendre auprès de nous en si peu de temps, et faire ce qu'avec tant de peine, et pendant si longtemps, nous n'avions pu exécuter. Mais lorsque nos sens étaient le plus occupés par cette agréable surprise, que nous nous livrions à la joie d'être bientôt sauvés, voilà la chaloupe, les gens, et la lumière qui s'éclipsèrent tout à coup de devant nos yeux, aussi bien que l'espoir de notre délivrance. Il est vrai, qu'un d'entre nous ne voulut jamais convenir avec nous de cette apparition ; il soutenait constamment, que c'était une pure illusion ; et quand nous tâchions de le convaincre, en lui représentant que nous avions tous vu la chaloupe, que tous nos yeux étaient d'accord, il soutenait encore, que ce n'était rien ; il nous fit ressouvenir encore de son opinion, lorsque la chaloupe eut disparu. On peut s'ima-

giner, dans quelle consternation nous plongea ce changement subit dans nos espérances; nous retombions dans toutes nos misères; nous ne savions plus à quoi nous déterminer. Pendant cette consternation le premier chasseur cria vers le rivage de toute la force de sa voix, quoique nous ne vissions personne; 'Ne pourriez-vous pas nous se-'courir?' à quoi nous entendîmes par trois fois la réponse suivante d'une voix, qui paraissait venir de fort loin; 'Non, non, non! recommandez-vous 'à Dieu; il n'y a plus d'espérance pour vous d'être 'secourus.' Comme cette triste réponse augmentait considérablement notre embarras, et que la nuit rendait nos inquiétudes encore plus vives, nous fûmes obligés de reprendre notre première résolution de chercher des glaces plus solides, que celles où nous étions; l'on convint en même temps, qu'à cause de la nuit quiconque tomberait dans l'eau ne pourrait prétendre à être secouru. Chacun se vit obligé de se soumettre à cette convention, et s'attendait avec résignation à tout ce, qui pourrait nous arriver de bon, ou de mauvais. Ce qu'il y avait de plus terrible pour moi dans cetterésolution, c'est que le plus grand nombre de nos gens convinrent de me laisser avec un des bourgeois, et un jeune mendiant, sur le faible glaçon où nous nous trouvions, parce que, comme j'étais tombé plusieurs fois dans l'eau après avoir été tout en transpiration, j'étais tellement gelé et engourdi, que je pouvais à peine me tenir sur mes jambes. Les deux autres n'avaient

guère plus de forces que moi ; de sorte que nos compagnons ne pouvaient, ni ne voulaient plus nous traîner avec eux. Mais avant de nous quitter, ils eurent la pitié de construire pour moi, en entassant plusieurs morceaux de glace les uns sur les autres, une espèce de hutte, où plutôt de bière, où je pusse être un peu à l'abri des injures de l'air, qui était alors fort pénétrant ; ils mirent aussi un morceau de glace sous ma tête en guise d'oreiller. Après nous avoir fait leurs adieux, et avoir exprimé le souhait, que quelqu'un d'entr'eux au moins pût gagner la terre, et venir ensuite au secours des autres, ils étaient sur le point de nous abandonner, lorsque tout-à-coup ils s'écrièrent avec précipitation ; ' Voilà du feu au ciel au-dessus de nos têtes, ' qui a la figure d'un dragon ;' ce qui sans doute était un de ces météores, qu'on nomme ici *Nord Lichter*[1], qui ne sont pas fort extraordinaires dans ces pays-ci pendant l'hiver. Pour moi, qui me trouvais déjà couché dans mon cercueil, me voyant ainsi abandonné par mes camarades, je ne me souciais plus de rien, et je n'eus pas même la curiosité de regarder, de quoi il s'agissait ; nos gens s'éloignèrent ensuite de nous, et nous abandonnèrent à notre destinée. Mes deux compagnons d'infortune, savoir le bourgeois et le jeune mendiant, se tenaient bien serrés tout près de moi ; et nous tâchions de nous réchauffer réciproquement par notre haleine. On peut juger, de quelle manière nous passâmes

[1] Northern Lights.

cette triste nuit: nous avions perdu notre compagnie, et toute espérance de secours humain; nous nous trouvions sur un petit et faible glaçon exposés à la merci de la mer, et à chaque instant nous nous attendions à la mort. La nuit et la solitude rendaient notre situation encore plus affreuse. Nous n'entendions qu'un bruit continuel de canards et d'autres oiseaux de mer. Il est vrai, que notre extrême lassitude nous fit goûter de temps en temps quelques instans de sommeil; mais c'était plutôt un sommeil pénible, un étourdissement, dont nous ne recevions pas le moindre soulagement. Pour comble de maux, la faim et surtout la soif nous tourmentaient sans cesse; et bien que nous missions de temps en temps quelque petit morceau de glace dans la bouche, nous n'en étions que fort peu soulagés; et nous étions obligés de le rejeter bien vîte à cause du mauvais goût. C'est dans cette déplorable situation, que nous voguâmes toute la nuit; mais à la fin, poussés par la force du courant, nous arrivâmes, le troisième jour après notre départ de Sproe, savoir le Mercredi 17 Janvier au matin, à l'île de Ramsoe, située au nord de celle de Fuhnen, et appartenante à un nommé Niels Krabbe. Par une direction extraordinaire de la providence divine nous donnâmes contre les glaces fermes, qui se trouvaient adhérentes à cette île; si nous ne nous fussions arrêtés là, nous serions tombés dans la pleine mer, et notre perte eût été inévitable. On compte huit lieues de cette île à Knudshovet.

Cependant bien que nous vissions alors grand jour à notre délivrance, nous nous trouvâmes si peu de forces, qu'il nous fut impossible de profiter de cette occasion, et de nous traîner sur les glaces fermes de l'île sans le secours d'autrui; ce qui nous obligeait de rester dans notre gîte, exposés au risque d'être entraînés de nouveau par la force du courant, du vent, ou de quelqu'autre masse de glace plus grande que celle, où nous étions. Nous flottâmes ainsi pendant cinq ou six heures entre la crainte de la mort et l'espérance de la vie, attendant à chaque instant avec les plus vives inquiétudes le dénouement de notre destin. Nous ne laissions pourtant pas de remarquer, que la mer était pleine de glaces flottantes; vers midi nous apperçûmes entr'autres un glaçon, sur lequel il nous semblait voir plusieurs grands oiseaux. Nous n'y fîmes d'abord aucune réflexion; mais lorsque ce glaçon s'approchait de plus en plus, nous vîmes enfin dans l'après-midi contre toute attente, que c'étaient nos compagnons, qui nous avaient quittés la nuit précédente. Quand ils furent tout proche de nous, et qu'ils s'aperçurent de notre faiblesse et de notre pitoyable et dangereuse situation, un de nos gens de chasse, Hophann, me tira de mon gîte à force de bras, et me transporta promptement sur les glaces fermes. On rendit par pitié le même service à mes deux compagnons, si bien que selon toute apparence nous nous trouvions entièrement hors de danger. Je ne pouvais d'abord faire un seul pas

sans être aidé par quelqu'un ; cependant nous avions encore près d'une demi lieue à faire jusqu' à la terre ; mais dès que le mouvement de la marche m'eut un peu rechauffé, mes pieds devinrent plus souples ; tant que je marchais sur les glaces, il me semblait, que j'avais reçu de noüvelles forces ; je ne me ressentais d'aucune incommodité, si ce n'est d'une soif inexprimable, qui m'avait tellement tourmenté durant les trois jours de notre malheureuse navigation, que j'avais le menton comme gangrené ; jusqu'au cou tout avait l'apparence de la chair crue, de manière que mes compagnons avaient d'abord eu de la peine à me reconnaître.

Quand nous fûmes arrivés bien près de la terre, deux de nos gens, qui marchaient devant, Richter et Anthon, tombèrent dans l'eau, les glaces s'étant rompues sous leurs pieds. Lorsque nous entendîmes leurs cris lamentables pour demander du secours, nous résolûmes unanimément de les secourir, quelque danger que nous en pussions courir ; seulement un des bourgeois nous pria très instamment de l'en dispenser, en considération de sa femme et de ses enfans, afin, disait-il, qu'en cas que nous périssions tous, il y eût quelqu'un, qui pût rendre compte de notre aventure. Nous lui permîmes de faire ce, qu'il lui plaisait. Ensuite nous nous couchâmes tous sur le ventre, en nous tenant les uns les autres par les pieds, afin que le premier pût avec moins de danger tendre la main à ceux, qui étaient tombés dans l'eau. Chacun enfonça son couteau dans la

[illegible] pour se tenir plus ferme, et pour être moins [illegible] nent entraîné par les premiers ; de cette manière les malheureux, qui étaient dans l'eau, furent sauvés. Mais les glaces s'étaient tellement pliées sous nous, que nous étions complètement inondés ; et si elles se fussent rompues ; c'eût été fait de nous. Delà jusqu'à la terre ferme il pouvait y avoir encore cinquante pas ; nous fîmes ce petit trajet avec assez de forces, à ce qu'il nous semblait ; mais dès que nous eûmes mis le premier pied à terre, les forces commencèrent tout d'un coup à nous manquer ; et nous tombâmes dans une si grande faiblesse, qu'il nous fut impossible de nous acquitter de notre devoir envers Dieu, ainsi que nous nous l'étions proposé. Heureusement pour nous il arriva vers la fin du même jour, qu'une femme passa par hasard sur le rivage ; elle nous mena d'abord dans un village voisin ; mais je ne saurais me souvenir, de quelle manière nous y arrivâmes, parce que les douleurs, qui commencèrent à nous prendre, nous firent perdre tout souvenir. On dit d'abord au paysan, dans la maison duquel on nous conduisit, de nous faire avoir à manger et surtout à boire, ce qu'il fit de son mieux ; mais nous avions la tête si faible, que la petite bière nous enivra à un point, qu'aucun d'entre nous ne conserva l'usage de sa raison, ni ne put se tenir debout. Suivant le rapport du paysan nous ne fîmes que nous plaindre sans cesse de nos douleurs, ce qui fit craindre au paysan, que nous n'allassions mourir entre ses mains, et que cela ne lui attirât de mauvaises affaires ; aussi prit-il la résolu-

tion conjointement avec ses voisins de nous mener outre. Ils nous placèrent ensuite sur des chariots entre des lits de plume, et nous conduisirent à un bourg appelé Kertemunde à deux lieues delà. Mais avant de passer à la suite de notre aventure je veux raconter en peu de mots le succès de l'entreprise du valet des toiles Joachim, qui nous quitta le soir du jour précédent pour tenter tout seul de se rendre à l'île de Fuhnen. Selon ce qu'il nous dit ensuite lui-même, il arriva à cette île cette nuit même après avoir couru de grands dangers, et essuyé de grandes misères, dont il a long temps ressenti les suites. S'étant trouvé sur le rivage justement lorsque le premier chasseur cria; 'Ne pourriez-vous pas nous secourir?' ce fut lui qui rendit par trois fois la réponse déjà citée; de plus il confirma le fait, que les feux à Fuhnen furent allumés pour nous; mais il n'avait aucune connaissance de la chaloupe, qui nous avait paru s'approcher de nous; de sorte que le sentiment du feu Roi Chrétien Cinq à ce sujet m'a paru le plus juste, savoir; que le feu sur le rivage, auprès duquel nous avions aperçu quelques paysans, aussi bien que le clair de la lune, et la reverbération qu'il produisait sur les glaces et sur l'eau, ayant ébloui nos yeux, toutes ces choses réunies présentèrent à nos sens étourdis la fausse idée d'une chaloupe venant à nous, et que delà il arriva, qu'aussitôt qu'un d'entre nous eut senti une telle impression, les autres se laissèrent aisément persuader d'assurer une chose, qu'ils souhaitaient si ardemment. Outre cela, on sait combien il est facile de se tromper de

nuit, et au clair de la lune; l'extravagance de ces illusions est assez confirmée par l'apparition d'un météore, que notre compagnie prit pour un dragon, quoique aucun d'entre nous n'eût jamais vu un dragon de sa vie.

Nous demeurâmes à Kertemunde le jour suivant, 18 Janvier. Nous aurions eu grand besoin d'y rester encore quelque temps pour réparer un peu nos forces épuiseés; mais la dureté du premier chasseur, qui était mieux pourvu d'habits que nous autres, et qui avait moins souffert, ne nous permit pas de jouir de semblables douceurs. Nous fumes donc obligés de nous remettre en route le 19 Janvier, et de voyager nuit et jour jusqu'à notre arrivée au Jutland chez le mâitre des chasses royales Ahrenfelt. On peut aisément juger de ce, que nous avons dû souffrir pendant ce voyage précipité. Le froid nous fut d'autant plus sensible, que nous étions fort légèrement vêtus, parce que pour la plupart nous fumes obligés de laisser nos surtouts et nos manteaux dans la chaloupe. Quant à moi, je perdis mon manteau, lorsque je tombai dans l'eau; et quoique j'eusse acheté pour quatre sous un vieux pourpoint de pêcheur, composé de quelques centaines de pièces, pour le mettre par dessus mes autres vêtemens, il était si étroit, que je ne pus guères en tirer du soulagement contre un froid si excessif. A notre arrivée au Jutland nos corps commencèrent à goûter quelque repos, parce que la plupart d'entre nous se trouvaient hors d'état de servir à la chasse des loups; il n'aurait donc pas été nécessaire de nous tant

fatiguer en nous faisant voyager nuit et jou (' fut alors, que nos douleurs et notre faiblesse se firent le plus sentir. Cela faisait pitié d'entendre nos lamentations, et de voir nos mains et nos pieds gelés, et répandant une odeur infecte. Je crois, que la plupart de nous perdirent la santé à cette occasion ; quant à moi, ayant alors un grand appétit je mangeais quatre fois par jour ; mais dès que la digestion commençait à se faire, je ne pouvais rien garder sur l'estomac ; et cette incommodité me dura quatre mois. Je n'arrivai à Copenhague qu'après Paques ayant les pieds tout emmaillotés ; ce ne fut que quelque temps après, que je pus mettre des souliers. Je crois en outre, que ce malheureux voyage a été la source de la plupart des maladies, que j'ai eues depuis. Tous mes compagnons d'infortune en ont eu aussi un triste souvenir. L'un des bourgeois est devenu sourd ; l'autre, celui qui me tint compagnie sur la glace, et un des bateliers, moururent bientôt après ; d'autres perdirent leur santé de diverses manières, quoique nous n'ayons perdu personne pendant le voyage.

Voilà le récit véritable et naïf de cette aventure miraculeuse[1], dans laquelle les voies admirables de

[1] Such was this providential deliverance, that our traveller might have used unexceptionably almost any word, to express how incalculably great it was, short of the one here employed.

Sproe and Ramsoe will be found in any tolerable map of Denmark, the first glance at which will shew, how striking his escape and that of his two comrades was, in being arrested by a point of the latter of these islands on his sea voyage on a piece of ice ; but it is beyond all calculation, that their companions, from whom they had been separated in the preceding night, should after many hours be carried involuntarily by a like frail conveyance to

idence divine paraissent aussi clairement que le soleil du midi.——A ce même Dieu, qui fait tout ce qu'il veut, au ciel et sur la terre, dans la mer et dans toutes les profondeurs, sans la volonté duquel aucun cheveu ne peut tomber de nos têtes, ni aucun passereau sur la terre, et sans lequel rien au monde, de quelque peu d'importance que cela paraisse, ne saurait arriver, soient honneur et gloire à jamais—Amen!

precisely the same spot; and yet without the arrival of the second party at that very spot, the first would have infallibly perished although close to land, through that extreme exhaustion which prevented their walking over the ice to the shore. It may be remarked, with respect to the extraordinary sufferings which they outlived, that there appear to be great diversities of power of enduring hunger, thirst, rigor of climate, and other hardships, displayed not by one only, but by several, often many individuals together, at different times, in different perilous emergencies, as in shipwrecks, and the sufferings consequent to them, and by individuals too of the same hardy classes of men, in such manner, that on one occasion they seem to sink under sufferings in a certain number of hours, which in another they endure for more than as many days, and survive them. But the regimen, which necessity had imposed upon this party during their five days residence on the Island of Sproe, was in all probability a material cause of their sustaining so well, as they did, all which they had to undergo. Their food had been simple, consisting of meat, and of small quantities of bread; they had had but very little beer to drink; the milk was very dear, and the water was bad.

It is well known to medical men, how important it is for the successful endurance of severe accidents befalling the human frame, and in general of all sudden and violent calls upon the constitution, that the blood of the patient should be in a cool state, when he experiences them. It is said, that the Hindoo Seapoy, on his habitual diet of rice, and water, recovers of wounds, which, if inflicted on the European soldier, would be beyond all hope of cure.

THE END.

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